

THE 1755 5a 18  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUCANIERS of AMERICA:

Being an  
ENTERTAINING NARRATIVE  
OF THE

EXPLOITS, CRUELITIES and SUFFERINGS of the  
following noted Commanders.

*R. Esquemeling* VIZ.  
JOSEPH ESQUEMELING, BAT the Portuguese,  
PIERRE LE GRAND, Capt. SHARP,  
LOLONNOIS, Capt. WATLING,  
ROCHE BRASILIANO, Capt. COOK, &c. &c.

Together with a curious Description of the Manners,  
Customs, Dress, and Ceremonies of the *Indians*  
inhabiting near Cape *Gracias a Dios*.

Published for the IMPROVEMENT and ENTERTAINMENT  
of the BRITISH YOUTH of both Sexes.

G L A S G O W:

Printed for JAMES KNOX, and sold at his Shop near  
the Head of the Salt-mercat.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUCANIERS OF AMERICA

**J**OSEPH Esquemeling, with Pierre le Grand, Louis Ionois, Roche Brasilliano, Bat the Portugese, and others, sailed on board the St. John, the 2d of May 1666, from Havre de Grace in France. She mounted eight and twenty guns, had twenty marines on board, with two hundred and twenty passengers, including in that number, those sent out free by the company. They in a short time after came to an anchor under the cape of Barbeur, in order to be joined there by seven other ships of the same West India company who were to rendezvous there from Dieppe, under the convoy of a thirty six gun frigate, with two hundred and fifty men on board.

Five of these ships were bound for the Caribbee Islands, two for Bengal, and the ship the above mentioned adventurers were in, for Tortuga. About twenty sail of ships bound for Newfoundland came up to them with some Dutch bound to St. Martin's, Rochelle, &c.

## *The HISTORY of the*

stantz; so by this junction they composed a fleet of thirty sail.

Having received intelligence that four English sixty gun ships of war waited for them near Alderney, they put themselves in a posture of defence. Chevalier Sourdis, their admiral, having given all necessary orders, and the wind favouring them, they sailed from thence. This little fleet escaped being seen by the English, through a fog, which luckily arose in its behalf. In order to avoid their dreaded enemy, they steered as near as they could, with safety, to the English shore. They met a vessel of Ostend, which complained to their admiral that she had been plundered by a French privateer that morning; and a fruitless effort was made to take and punish the privateer, which had more speed than the pursuers.

The inhabitants of the coast of France were greatly alarmed at this fleet's sailing so near the shore, (being ignorant of the reason) and apprehended it to be the English, seeking for a commodious place to land in. On perceiving the alarm they had caused on the French shore, they hung out white colours to dissipate their fears, and after anchored in the bay of Conquet in Brittany, not far from Ushant, to take in water; where having taken in a store of fresh provisions, they continued their voyage, and resolved to pass by the Ras of Fontenau, not to endanger themselves by passing near the Sorlingues, where they apprehended the English were then cruising.

The river Ras hath a swift and violent current, which precipitating over many rocks, disembogues itself into the sea on the French coast, 48 degrees 10 minutes latitude, which passage was very dangerous, on account of all the rocks not being then sufficiently known. Having got safely by the Ras, the weather continued very fine till they reached Cape Finistère; there they were surprised by a sudden storm, which separated their ship from the rest of the fleet. It lasted eight days, to  
which

which succeeded very favourable gales, that continued till they reached the tropic of Cancer. The weather was very fine in that part of the world; but they were in great want of water, which was become so scarce with them, that each man was stinted to two half pints per day.

They met an English frigate, or privateer, about the latitude of Barbadoes, which gave them chase, but soon sheered off, judging herself not sufficiently strong to take them; whereupon they pursued, firing several eight-pounders at her; but she having made off, they returned to their course. They soon after came within sight of Martinico. They had intended for the coast of the isle of St. Peter, but an intervening storm defeated their intent, wherefore they determined to steer to Guadaloupe, but the same storm opposed their reaching that island: they then directed their course to the island of Tortuga.

They sailed along the coast of Punta Ricca, which offers a very pleasant prospect to the eye, being beautified with fine woods to the very summits of the mountains. They next discovered Hispaniola, and coasted about it till they came to their long-wish'd-for port in the island of Tortuga, where they cast anchor on the 7th of July of the same year. In that voyage they were so lucky as not to have lost a man. They landed the goods belonging to the West India company; and the ship, with some passengers, was sent soon after to Calde Sac.

Tortuga is an island situated northward of Hispaniola, in 20 degrees 30 minutes latitude; it is about sixty leagues in length. From the figure of the island, which is not unlike to that of a great sea-tortoise, it has been called Tortuga de Mar by the Spaniards. It is very mountainous and abounds with rocks: upon the latter grow lofty trees, and very close to each other; and their roots in general are seen naked, and entwined a-

mong the rocks as the branches of ivy are upon walls. Its northern part is quite uninhabited, on account of the unwholsomeness of the air there, and of its coasts being almost inaccessible by so many ramparts of rocks: for which reason the southern part is the only inhabited. It has but one port, and that not a very excellent one; it has two channels or entries, through which a seventy gun ship may pass; a great number of vessels may lie with safety in the port.

A few Spaniards were the first Europeans who had possessed themselves of this island, but were afterwards dislodged by some French, who having increased their numbers, established themselves there in spite of all Spanish efforts to extirpate them. Having made the island as convenient and secure to them, as the circumstances of affairs would permit, they began to people it, and each to follow his favourite manner of living: some by hunting, others by planting tobacco, many by cruizing and plundering the coasts of the Spanish islands. The self instituted governors of this island behaved not only as proprietors, but as absolute monarchs thereof, till 1664, at which time the West-India company of France took possession thereof, and sent thither Monsieur Ogéron to act as their governor. The company by means of their factors and servants planted the colony for themselves exclusively of all others, and thought to carry on with the Spaniards some considerable branch of trade. But their hopes were disappointed in as much as they could not carry on any trade with other nations, because from the beginning they could not establish any secure commerce with their own. From this company's first institution in France, they stipulated with the planters, hunters, pirates, &c. first possessors of Tortuga, that all their necessaries should be bought upon trust from the said company.

But the factors of this company soon discovered that they could neither recover cash, nor returns of any kind from



from them, and were often necessitated to bring armed men into the island, to get in part of the payment due to the company. In consequence, every endeavour about settling a second trade with these islanders proved ineffectual; the company therefore recalled their factors, having sent them orders to dispose of all that were their own in the said plantation, as well as the servants belonging to the company, (which were sold some for twenty, others for thirty pieces of eight) as also all other properties and merchandizes whatsoever. On this occasion Joseph Esquemeling belonging to the said company, in whose service he left France, was sold.

Poor Esquemeling had the hard fortune to fall to the lot of the most cruel and perfidious monster that ever disgraced human form, and who was then governor, or rather lieutenant general of the island. He made Esquemeling suffer all sorts of hard treatment, nay, almost starved him to death; but declared at the same time that he was very well inclined to let him purchase his liberty, at the rate of 300 pieces of eight; nothing less. This offer was the more provoking as the poor wretch was not worth one at the time.

Esquemeling, through the various miseries he had endured, as well as vexation of mind, fell dangerously ill, which misfortune in appearance turned out a real happiness to him, for his avaricious master startled at his sickly condition, lest he should lose his money (with Esquemeling's life, his least concern) sold him for seventy pieces of eight to a surgeon; under whom, being humanely treated, he soon began to recover his health. The surgeon gave him cloaths, and very good food, and after one year's service offered him his liberty, on the small condition of paying him 100 pieces of eight whenever he should be able.

Esquemeling set at liberty, was naked, and destitute of all necessaries of life. Not knowing which way to earn a subsistence, he resolved to take on with the pirates.



mates, among whom he was received *rem. con.* and to his utmost abilities assisted them in all their designs and attempts, acting a conspicuous part in some of their most famous exploits.

The cruelty of the planters to their servants is almost incredible. Among the many thousand instances that could be related, let the following account suffice to give an idea thereof: An unhappy wretch, unable to bear any longer the barbarous usage of his master to him, ran away in despair. After a few days he was found in the woods, and brought back to his wicked persecutor, who indulged himself in the flattering thoughts of the torments he would make him endure.

Having ordered this unfortunate man to be tied to a tree, and stripped, he did not cease lashing him on the back till the blood streamed from it; then to increase the smarting pain of his wounds, he had him anointed with lemon juice, mixed with pepper and salt. He left him tied to the tree during four and twenty hours in this miserable plight, and then renewed his barbarity by punishing the tortured wretch as before, who just as he expired under the lash of this monster, thus addressed himself to heaven: *I beseech the Omnipotent to permit the evil spirit to make you feel before death, tortures equal to those with which you have put an end to my life.*

In three or four days after this horrid murder, eternal justice, which had heard the cries of the expiring wretch, permitted the spirit of darkness to take possession of this wicked master, and make him turn his cruel hands against his own body, which he beat unmercifully, and tore his flesh till he lost the shape of a man, howling and roaring night and day without being able to take a moment's rest, and continued outrageously mad till he expired.

Although the planters in Hispaniola and Tortuga be bad men, yet those of the Caribbee islands are worse and more inhumane to their servants. A planter named

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Bettefa in the island of St. Christophers beat above a hundred servants to death. The English planters too are cruel masters, for their mildest punishment to their servants is, that when six years of their time is served (being always bound for seven) they practise studied cruelties on them, in order to force the wretches to solicit their tyrant masters to sell them to another, though it be to commence a new servitude of seven, or three years at least. Thus many have not been able to obtain their freedom, till at the end of fifteen or twenty years. Another terrible use amongst the English is, if a man be indebted to another for a sum exceeding five and twenty shillings, and is unable to discharge it, his creditor can sell him for six or eight months to reimburse himself. From such intolerable severities many have sought for refuge among the pirates.

Pirates is a denomination given to a set of men, that, unauthorised by any legal government, infest the seas. The Spanish monarchs have on several occasions sent ambassadors to England and France to complain of the vexations caused on the coasts of America by those pirates, even in peaceable times. The answer to such complaints was, that they were a lawless banditti, who acted without any sanction from either court, and that his Spanish majesty might proceed against them in whatever manner he pleased.

Pierre le Grand, native of Dieppe in Normandy, was the first pirate of Tortuga. His taking the vice admiral of the Spanish Flota near the cape of Tiburon, rendered him famous, and justly so, inasmuch as with only one boat and eight and twenty men he performed this bold action. Before this surprizing event, the Spaniards passed and re-passed through the channel of Bahama with all security. As a full account of this gallant exploit must doubtless give pleasure to the reader, an extract from the journal thereof will set it in a full light.

Pierre le Grand, and his company, had been a long time

that at sea in the boat without meeting any thing worth while, and their provisions beginning to fail, were threatened with an approaching famine. In the midst of their despair they discovered a large ship of the Spanish Flota separated from the rest, which they resolved to make themselves masters of, or perish in the attempt. Whereupon, in order to view her force they sailed round her, which, (notwithstanding their being convinced of her superiority, their desperate situation urged them to attack.

When they had drawn so near to the Spanish ship that there was no possibility of escaping, the company took a voluntary oath to assist to the last their brave captain, Pierre le Grand. They began their attack in the dusk of the evening, he having ordered the surgeon, before they engaged, to bore a hole in the sides of the boat, that she sinking under them, all hands might be under an unavoidable necessity of boarding the Spaniard, which was immediately done, without any other arms than a cutlass in one hand, and a pistol in the other. Having climbed up the sides of the ship, they ran in a body into the great cabin, where they found the captain and others at cards. He was commanded to deliver up the ship; a pistol being presented to his breast.

Astonished at so unexpected a visit, the scared Spaniards crossed themselves, crying out, *St. Anthony protect us! are these devils, or what are they!* Some of Le Grand's men in the mean time took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms, slaying all who opposed; which made the Spanish crew surrender presently.

The captain of the Spanish vessel had been told by some of his sailors that very day, they were sure the boat which was cruising in view was manned with pirates, which information the captain treated with contempt. *What, think you I can fear such a paltry thing as that? I should not fear her, were she a vessel as large and strong as mine.*

Pierre le Grand being master of this rich prize, detained

tained as many of the common seamen as he judged would be necessary to him; the rest of the crew he set on shore, and then sailed for Old France; where he remained and never returned to America.

As soon as the news of this rich prize's having been so easily taken had reached Tortuga, the planters and hunters there resolved to commence pirates, deeming it a more profitable trade than their own. Their first care was to procure some small boats, but there being no opportunity of either buying or building any at Tortuga, they resolved to go in quest of them elsewhere in their *cunoes*, in which they at first cruized upon Cape de Alvarez, where from one city to another the Spaniards carried on their trade in small vessels. They used also to lade them with hides, tobacco, and other commodities for the Havanna, which place was frequented by the Spaniards from Europe.

It was thereabouts these new pirates first seized on many boats laden with the abovementioned articles, which they carried off to Tortuga, and sold them to ships happening to be there, or that purposely waited their return. The emoluments arising from these prizes procured them the requisites for undertaking other voyages, some of which were to Campeachy, others towards New Spain, at which places the Spaniards dealing considerably, they met many trading vessels and ships of great burden upon these coasts. In less than a month's time they took and carried to Tortuga two of the largest among the trading vessels, and two great ships which the Spaniards had laden with plate in the port of Campeachy bound for the Caraccas.

The inhabitants of Tortuga, encouraged by these repeated successes, the wealth of the country being thereby so much increased in two years time, declared so generally for piracy, that in a little time twenty bottoms were manned from that small island. The Spanish traders being no longer able to resist those plunderers, two large  
men



men of war were fitted out, to cruise against the enemy, and protect their own coasts.

The customs observed among the pirates are entertaining. Before they put to sea, notice is given to all interessed in such a vessel of the day of her intended departure, and each man is to bring so many pound of powder and ball. When the crew are all on board, they consult about which is the best place to get provisions in, particularly flesh, for they seldom eat any thing else; and of flesh, pork is their most common sort; they sometimes use tortoisies, which they salt a little.

In order to procure pork, they plunder the Spanish hog-yards, in some of which there are sometimes a thousand heads of swine. They assail them in the night-time, and having surrounded the keeper's lodge, they force him to rise, and deliver to them as many as they please to demand, menacing to murder him in case of a refusal, or if he should attempt to give any alarm.

They repair to their ship when they think they have got a sufficient store of flesh for their voyage. Their method in regard to provision, when on board, is to allow every person as much as he can eat, without measure or weight, twice a day. And the ship's steward gives to the meanest man on board eatables and drinkables as good as to the captain.

Every thing in readiness for a cruise, they deliberate where they shall try their fortune, and agree upon certain articles to be observed by every person, conched in writing, and signed by most of them. The respective sums of money each person shall be entitled to for that voyage is set down. The fund for all payments being whatever booty may happen to fall into their hands; for no captures, no wages, nor shares.

According to their piratical usage, they first set down how much the captain is intitled to for his ship: secondly, the salary of the carpenter who careened, repaired, and rigged her; which commonly amounts to a hundred,

or



or a hundred and fifty pieces of eight; two hundred, or two hundred and fifty pieces of eight are commonly rated for the surgeon, and his chest of drugs. Thirdly, they settle what each wounded or maimed person ought to have; they usually allow six hundred pieces of eight for the loss of a right arm; five hundred ditto for the loss of the left; five hundred ditto for a right leg; four hundred for the left, a hundred for an eye. These sums are first deducted from the common stock produced by their piracy; and of the remainder a very exact dividend is made.

In their sharing, they are not regardless of quality or place. Four common seamen's shares are allotted to captain, to the master's mate two, and so in proportion to the other officers: after whom, from the highest to the lowest mariner, they draw equal parts. The boys are not neglected among them; they draw half a share, because when pirates take a better vessel than their own, the duty of the boys is to set fire to the old one, and retire to the new prize.

Great order and discipline are observed amongst them; it is strictly prohibited to every person to appropriate any article of a prize, in order that an equal division may be made of all that fortune throws in their way. They take a very solemn oath not to conceal any thing which shall be found on board the prizes; and whoever is proved to have broken it, is immediately cashiered.

They behave very courteously and charitably to each other, never refusing to oblige or serve another with what they have. Their practice as soon as they have taken a prize, is to put the prisoners ashore as soon as they can: they detain only a few, whom they think may be of service to them in one shape or other; and at the end of two or three years release them according to their custom. In order to refresh themselves, they repair sometimes to one island, sometimes to another. The southern parts of Cuba are a favourite retreat;

there their vessels are careened, whilst some hurt, and others cruize for prizes in their canoes. The poor tortoise fishermen are often taken by them, and made to work during the pleasure of their arbitrary masters.

At Campeachy and New Spain the inhabitants embark their commodities in very large ships. Those from Campeachy sail in the winter season to the Caraccas, Trinity Isles, and that of Margarita, and in the summer return thither; which stated voyages and return the pirates not being ignorant of, they cruize between the two abovementioned places; but when they have met with no considerable booty, rather than return home poorly freighted, they determine to go on some very hazardous enterprize, as is exemplified in the following instance.

Pierre Francois having waited a long time at sea in his boat with twenty-six men, for the ships that were to return from Maracaibo to Campeachy, and seeing no hopes of a booty that way, changed his course to Rancheiras, near the river de la Plata, in north latitude 12 degrees and a half. A rich bank of pearl is in these parts; to the fishery whereof, twelve vessels, under the convoy of a man of war, are annually sent from Carthagena. In each vessel are two negroes, very expert in diving, to the depth of six fathoms, where great plenty of pearls is found. Pierre Francois had a longing eye after this Pearl Fleet, and rather than return homeward empty handed, resolved to attack them while they were riding at anchor at the mouth of the river de la Hacha, though the ship of war was not at above half a league's distance from the small vessels; but it was quite calm weather.

Pierre Francois having taken a full view of them, hauled down his sails, and rowed along shore, feigning to be a Spanish vessel coming from Maracaibo; and as soon as he had reached the pearl bank, he attacked the vice-admiral, of eight guns, with sixty men, and forced her to strike to him. The vice-admiral taken, his

next design was on the ship of war; sure, if he could conquer her, he should soon make himself master of the whole fleet.

In order to accomplish this rash project, he sunk his own boat, hung out Spanish colours, and shoved gently on before a springing gale of wind; having with promises, as well as threats, obliged most of the Spaniards (taken on board the vice-admiral, in which he now sailed) to assist him; but the ship of war, on perceiving one of the fleet to sail, did so too, fearing an elopement of the mariners on board, in order to carry off the treasure therein embarked. This movement of the ship of war induced the pirate to desist from an enterprise he thought his crew unequal to, the enemy being alarmed: therefore, consulting his own safety, endeavoured to get out of the river, and gain the open seas, crowding as much sail as possible to favour his flight; which the man of war having observed, gave instant chase. But the pirate, from his earnestness to get off, having too much sail, and a sudden squall of wind arising, the mainmast was brought by the board, and his escape obstructed.

Which event gave new spirits to those on board the ship of war, as they gained on the pirate every moment, and soon overtook him, resolved, notwithstanding his misfortune, to defend himself as long as possible, which he did for some time with amazing courage, and struck not to the man of war till after a previous capitulation, that his crew should not be treated in any sort as slaves, but be safely landed, and left free to go where they pleased; for which terms they yielded up all their store; in pearls alone worth above 100,000 pieces of eight: besides, the vessel, provisions, goods, &c.

Bartholomew the Portuguese was another pirate equally enterprising. He cruised in a boat with thirty men and four small guns, from Jamaica upon the Cape de

Corriente, in Cuba, where he met a great ship from Maracaibo and Carthagena bound to the Havanna, carrying twenty great guns and seventy sailors, besides mariners and passengers. He did not hesitate about assaulting her, who on the other hand made a resolute defence. The pirate having escaped the first encounter, resolved that the second should be more vigorous, he not having been in the least damaged; and the second attack he pursued with such obstinate and determinate bravery, that after a long and bloody fight the large ship struck to him.

In this action the Portuguese had but ten men killed, and but four wounded. The conquered Spaniards had double the number of fighting men that were with the Portuguese. As soon as he had taken possession of the ship, the wind not being fair for Jamaica, they determined to shape their course to coast St Anthony, which lies westward of Cuba, there to refit and take in fresh water, which began to fail them. Near the Cape they met unexpectedly three ships coming from New Spain, and bound for the Havanna; the pirate and his prize were taken, and all on board made prisoners, and stripped of the riches which they had so lately taken.

The cargo consisted in 120,000 weight of cocoanuts, the principal ingredient of chocolate, and 70,000 pieces of eight. A violent storm arose two days after this misfortune, which separated the ships from each other. The great vessel in which the pirates were, arrived at Campeachy, where many considerable merchants came, and saluted the captain. They presently knew the Portuguese pirate, having been long infamous for his insolencies, cruelties, and murders on their coast, and recent in all their memories.

The magistrates of the city sent to demand the prisoners, the next day after their arrival, that they might be punished according to their deserts. But in order to prevent the captain of the pirate's making his escape



As he had formerly done when their prisoner before) they thought proper to leave him guarded on ship-board, while the gibbet he was to be hanged on the following day was erecting. And no other process was to be made in regard to him, than to lead him from the ship to the gibbet. The rumour of his execution having soon reached Bartholomew Portuguese, he made every attempt to escape that night.

His expedient was, to procure two earthen jars, wherein the Spaniards carry wine from Spain to the West Indies; he stopped them very well, meaning to use them for swimming, as those unskilled in that exercise employ blown bladders, or corks. This necessary preparation made, he waited till all were asleep; but having observed that the centinel's vigilance made against his project, he stabbed him with a knife he had secretly purchased; then plunged into the sea with the earthen jars. With their assistance, tho' unskilled in swimming, he gained the shore, and fled to the woods immediately. There he lay hid for three days, not daring to appear, nor eating any other food than wild herbs.

Diligent search was made for him next day by those of the city, and particularly in the woods, whither they judged he had repaired. Portuguese saw this strict search, from the hollow of a tree wherein he lay hid, and upon their return, he made all possible dispatch to Del Golpho Triste, forty leagues from Campeachy. He arrived there within a fortnight after his escape; during which period, and for some time after, he suffered all the extremities of hunger and thirst, (having no other provision with him than a small Calabacca with a little water) besides the fears of falling again into the hands of the Spaniards. He eat nothing but a few shell-fish, which he found among the rocks near the sea-shore; and being obliged to pass some rivers, unexperienced in swimming, he at length found an old



board the waves had driven ashore, in which were a few large nails; those he with great labour whetted on a stone, till he made them so many clumsy likenesses of knives: with such unpolished instruments he cut down some branches of trees, which he joined together with twigs and osiers, and made as well as he could something like a boat, to waft him over the river. In such a vehicle he conveyed himself to the cape of Golpho Triste where he is said to have met a vessel of pirates lately come from Jamaica, and who had been former comrades of his.

He told them the history of all his misships, and entreated them to fit him out a boat, with twenty men, at the head of which little company he promised to return to Campeachy, and attack that very ship, then in the river there, which had taken him fourteen days before. They chearfully granted his request, and fitted him out accordingly.

With so small a company he set out to execute his design, which he bravely performed eight days after he left Golpho Triste: For, being arrived at Campeachy with determined courage, and without making any noise, he assaulted the said ship. Those who were on board looked on the pirate as a boat from land, that came to bring contraband goods, and were in no posture of defence, being too secure, and not at all apprehensive of danger, which the pirate made his advantage of, furiously attacked, and soon subdued them. But the Portuguese lost his new conquest soon after in a storm, which put an end to his exploits.

The pirate Roche Brasilliano, a native of Groningen, had long resided in Brasil from which place he was forced to fly, when the Portuguese retook those countries from the Dutch. He fled to Jamaica, where he associated with pirates, serving as a private mariner for some time, and behaved so well in that station as to gain the universal good-will and esteem of all. Tho

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mariners, on a disgust, deserted from their captain, and chose Brasiliano for their leader. He fitted out a small vessel for them.

He was successful; and to the Spanish nation a most inveterate enemy, several of whom he ordered to be roasted alive on wooden spits, for not shewing him hog yards, from whence he might steal pork-provisions. After many of these cruelties, a tempest surprized him so violently, that his ship was wrecked on the coast of Campeachy; the mariners escaped only with their muskets, and some few bullets and powder, the only things they could carry off with them; they got a shore in a canoe, and marching along the coast with all the speed they could; they directed their course towards Golpho Triste, the common refuge of pirates. They were racked with hunger and thirst, and pursued by an hundred Spaniards.

On perceiving the imminent danger they were all in, Brasiliano thus encouraged his companions, by telling them they were better soldiers than their enemy, and ought rather to die sword in hand, like brave and gallant fellows, than yield to the dastardly Spaniards, who would deprive them of life in the midst of most grievous tortures. The pirates, tho' but thirty, were animated by their brave commander's spirit, and facing about to the Spaniards, they discharged their muskets with so much dexterity, that each shot brought down a horseman. After an hour's continued fight, the Spaniards were routed, their dead stripped, and such as were not quite dead were dispatched with the ends of muskets.

The conquerors marched off triumphantly mounted on the horses of the vanquished. They soon spied a boat at anchor from Campeachy, and stoutly manned, protecting a few canoes that were embarking wood. Six of their corps were dispatched to watch them, and made themselves masters of the canoes next morning

by stratagem, and took the little man of war that convoyed them. They took also another ship going from New Spain to Maracaibo, laden with divers commodities and pieces of eight, designed to purchase cocoa nuts for their freight home; all which they carried safely to Jamaica, where, as usual among the piratical fraternity, they wasted all in a few days in taverns and stews, giving themselves up to all manner of debauchery.

Brasiliario having spent all, was obliged to have recourse to the sea again to try his fortune, and sailed for the coast of Campeachy, his favourite rendezvous. A fortnight after his arrival there, he embarked in a canoe in order to espy the port of that city, and see if he could rob any Spanish vessel; but he was now so far unsuccessful, that both he and all his men were taken and carried before the governor, who gave orders for their being immediately thrown into a dungeon, resolved to execute every man of them, which he would certainly have done, but for a stratagem of Brasiliario's, which saved them all. He sent a feigned letter, in the name of all the pirates out at sea, threatening the governor with immediate destruction, if Brasiliario or any of his followers should suffer death. This expedient produced the desired effect on the dastardly governor; who, for all punishment, exacted only an oath from them, by which they renounced piratical practices, and consented to sail as common mariners in the galleons to Old Spain.

Francis Lolonois was born in that district of France, known by the name of *les sables d'Olonne*, in English *The sands of Olonne*. He was transported in his youth, in quality of servant or slave. As soon as he was out of his time he repaired to Hispaniola, where he for some time associated with the hunters, whom he forsok, and made two or three voyages as a common mariner, in which he manifested so undaunted a spirit as recommended him to the favour of *M. de la Place*, the governor of Tortuga, and who, for recompence of  
his

his bravery, gave him a ship to try his fortune with. She was so lucky as to be the instrument of his gaining great riches in a short time.

His inveteracy against the Spaniards was as implacable as universally known throughout the Indies. The Spaniards, in his time, chose rather to die, or sink fighting, when engaged by Lolonois, knowing no quarter was to be expected from him. His triumphs were damped by the loss of his ship on the coast of Campeachy. The crew having escaped from the imminent perils of the seas, was pursued and slaughtered by the Spaniards, very few escaping; Lolonois their chieftain was wounded, and saved his life by a stratagem; for mixing sand with the blood of his wounds, he besmeared his face and other parts of his body therewith, and hiding himself dextrously among the dead, he remained motionless until the Spaniards quitted the field of battle.

After their departure he retired to the woods, and there bound up his wounds as well as he could, which when pretty well healed, he went to Campeachy, disguised in a Spanish habit, where he seduced some slaves to follow him, promising mighty matters to them, in case they would profess an implicit obedience to him. Won by his promises, they stole a canoe, accompanied him to sea, and repaired to Tortuga, the general rendezvous of pirates and land-robbers.

He schemed himself into another ship with a crew of twenty one men. Being well provided with arms and other necessaries for carrying on an expedition, he sailed for Cuba, on the south whereof is a small village called De Los Cayos, where he intended to make a considerable booty: but the governor of the Havanna being apprized thereof, sent a ship to its relief with ten guns and ninety men, well armed, whom he expressly commanded not to return into his presence without having totally destroyed those pirates; and for this purpose he gave



gave them a negro to serve as hangman, with orders, that every pirate should be hanged up as soon as taken, Lolonois their captain only excepted; who at all events was to be brought alive to the Havanna.

The ship arrived at Cayos, and not unknown to the pirates, who, instead of sheering off dismayed, boldly sought her riding at anchor in the river Estera. Some fishermen were seized in the night by the pirates, and forced to shew them the entry of the port; they were very near to the ship after two in the morning, and the watch on board the latter having asked whence they came, and if they had seen any pirates abroad; one of the fishermen who had been made prisoner by the pirates, was caused to answer, that they had seen neither pirates, nor any thing else.

About break of day they were convinced of the contrary, for the canoes having attached the vessel on both sides with such vigour, that though the Spaniards defended themselves bravely, making some use of their great guns, they were forced to surrender to the pirates, who, sword in hand, drove them down under the hatches. Lolonois commanded them to be brought up one by one on the deck, and their heads to be successively struck off. The little negro designed to be the pirates executioner was brought up among the rest. This leaved wretch implored mercy in a lamentable manner, but in vain; he was murdered with the rest. Lolonois let but one survive, and him he sent to the governor of the Havanna with this written message, to wit, *That henceforward no Spaniard should have any quarter from him, by way of retaliation for the kindness intended for his companions and him and that he wished for an opportunity of practising on the governor.*

By this success Lolonois acquired a good ship, but had neither a sufficient complement of men, nor a necessary quantity of provisions. He therefore resolved to cruise from one port to another, in order to recruit both,



both, which scheme not succeeding according to his wishes for some time, he resolved to steer to the port of Maracaibo. There he found a ship laden with plate, and other commodities, outward bound to purchase cocoa nuts. He returned to Tortuga with this prize, where there was an universal rejoicing on that occasion. They congratulated at the same time his happy success, and their own private interest.

Lolonois did not long remain here, having designed to equip a fleet sufficient to transport 500 men, with all offensive and defensive necessaries. Thus provided, he resolved to plunder villages, towns, cities; and to conclude by making himself master of Maracaibo. He knew that for such enterprizes he could readily draw a stout body of men from Tortuga. He had moreover in his service several prisoners well acquainted with the places and the roads to and fro, against which his schemes were levelled.

Notice of his design being communicated to all the pirates at home and abroad, he collected above four hundred men in a little time, and was joined by another pirate of Tortuga called Michael de Basco. They all embarked in eight vessels; that of Lolonois being the greatest, they mounted ten guns, but indeed of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the company on board, they sailed together about the end of April, their number amounting to 660. They steered to the port called Bayala, north of Hispaniola. Here they recruited their companies with some fresh hunters who offered themselves as volunteers; and here all provisions necessary for a voyage were taken in. About the end of July they sailed from thence, steering directly to the eastern cape of the isle called Punta D'Espade, where they discovered a ship laden with cocoa nuts, and bound for New Spain from Puerto Rico.

Lolonois orders to the rest of the fleet were to wait for

for him near Savona, eastward of cape Punta D' Espade, having resolved to take the ship himself without their assistance. The Spaniards, who had been in sight two hours (tho' they knew that their neighbours were pirates) did not attempt to make their escape; but being well appointed in every sense, prepared for a battle. They fought three hours and suffered much before they struck. Their ship mounted sixteen guns, and had fifty fighting-men on board; 120 000 weight of cocoa, 40,000 pieces of eight, and the value of 10 000 more in jewels, were found on board. The vessel was immediately sent to Tortuga to be unladed by Lolonois's order, and return to as soon as possible to Savona, where he would wait for her. The rest of the fleet arrived in the interim at Savona, and had taken a Spanish vessel coming from Coman with military provisions to Hispaniola, and money for the payment of the garrison. Though this vessel mounted eight guns, they took her without any resistance.

There were 7000 weight of powder, a great number of muskets, with other warlike articles, and 12,000 pieces of eight found on board. These lucky beginnings gave the pirates great spirits. On the arrival of the prize-ship at Tortuga, the governor ordered her to be immediately unladen, and sent back soon after to the victorious Lolonois with all requisites for piratical expeditions. This Lolonois chose for himself, and gave to his comrade Anthony Dupuis, the vessel he, Lolonois, had commanded. Recruited now for the loss of men he had suffered in taking the prizes, he found himself in sailing condition for Maracaibo in the province of Venezuela, from which the contiguous gulph has derived its name, tho' called the gulph of Maracaibo by the pirates.

Lolonois, whose reputation increased by his constant successes, resolved to visit Nicaragua, in order to plunder there as many towns as he could; wherefore subsequent

sequent to the publication of his new preparations he had all his men, amounting to 700, collected at the appointed time; he embarked 300 of them in the ship he had taken at Maracaibo, and the rest were put on board of five other vessels of lesser burden. Baaha in Hispaniola was the first port they steered to, to take in provisions and victual their fleet; having sailed a great way, and performed no mighty feats, they arrived at last at Puerto Cavallo, where the Spaniards have two store-houses, in which are lodged the merchandizes brought from the interior parts of the country, till the arrival of the ships. There was at that time a Spanish ship of twenty-four guns, and sixteen pedreros, or mortar pieces. The pirates made an immediate seizure of her, and landing near the shore, burnt all the houses with the two magazines. They made many inhabitants prisoners, on whom they wantonly practised the most shocking cruelties.

The prisoners were (save two) dispatched, who were reserved not thro' any principle of moderation, but in order that they might show Lolonois what he desired to see. He then marched to the town of San Pedro, ten or twelve leagues distant from Puerto Cavallo, at the head of 3000 men, his lieutenant, Moses van Vin, being left behind to govern the rest in his absence. When Lolonois and his party were advanced about three leagues on their way, they were met by a troop of Spaniards, who had lain in ambush for them, and after great proofs of courage were defeated. The pirates overpowered and forced them to fly precipitately having suffered a great loss; the wounded, maimed and disabled of the defeated enemy, Lolonois put to death without mercy, having previously put to them what questions he thought proper.

Lolonois, extremely provoked at the frequent ambushes of the Spaniards, and because the Spanish prisoners did not shew him another road to avoid them,

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though they knew not any, drew his cutlafs, and with it cut open the breast of one of those wretched Spaniards, and having pulled out his heart, bit, gnawed, and tore it with his teeth like a ravenous wolf, swearing to the rest, that if they did not shew him another way, he would serve them all so.

Pursuant to some subsequent successes, Lolonois having called a council of war, told them he intended for Guatamala; but the major part thinking the proposed voyage but of very little consequence, separated from Lolonois and his adherents. Moses Vanclein, captain of the ship taken at Puerto Cavallo, was one of the chief dissenters from Lolonois; he steered directly for Tortuga, in order to cruise in the neighbouring seas. He was joined by an intimate companion, Pierre le Picard, who following the example of others abandoned Lolonois and steered homeward. In their way they took and pillaged a town, which it must be owned the Spaniards gallantly defended.

Deserted Lolonois remained in the gulf of Honduras. His ship being too large to get out of these seas at their reflux. He and his suffered so much through want of provisions, that they were necessitated to go on shore every day, where they killed and eat monkeys, with all other animals which presented themselves. To crown his misfortunes, in the cape of Gracias a Dios his ship struck on a sand bank near the little island called De las Pertas, where she stuck so fast that no art could work her off, though all her guns, iron, and other weighty things, as far as practicable, had been taken out. In this extremity they were forced to break the ship in pieces, and with the planks and nails to build themselves a boat for their escape from the shipwreck.

Lolonois (after several intervening difficulties in mending and equipping a boat) set sail in her, and in a few days arrived in the river Nicaragua. Here he was also persecuted by that ill fortune which had for a long time



time stuck to him, and was reserved by providence as a just punishment due to the multitude of horrible crimes committed in his most licentious wickedness. Here he was met by Spaniards and Indians, who jointly assailing him and his companions, slew the greater part of them.

Lolonois, with a few survivors, reached their boat with great difficulty, and went in quest of boats to Carthagea in order to bring home in them his companions he had been obliged to leave at the isle of Pertas. Lolonois was no sooner arrived there, than he thought to act his cruelties a-new, but the Indians of Darien a few days after his arrival took him prisoner, and tore him in pieces whilst alive, throwing his body, limb by limb, into the fire, and scattering his ashes to the wind, that no trace might remain of so terrible a monster. Many of his companions taken in that rencounter were torn to pieces, burnt, and scattered in the air in the same manner their barbarous master was.

HENRY MORGAN was the son of a gentleman farmer in Wales, and when very young, owned a great dislike to his father's manner of living; wherefore he quit his native country, and went to seek in the sea-ports, which he long wished to have a view of, some employment more suitable to the ambitious turn of his mind, than that of a farmer was. Having seen several ships riding at anchor which were bound for Barbadoes, and being struck at the same time with a presage of his future fortune, he without hesitation resolved to enter into their service. He was accepted of, and according to the laudable practice of Barbadoes, &c. was sold as soon as landed there. Having served out his time, and obtained his liberty, he repaired to Jamaica in order to better his fortune, where he found two pirate vessels ready to sail; which, joined to his being unemployed, induced him to go with them, and embrace a manner of living, nature had qualified him for.

After three or four successful and profitable voyages, he covenanted with some of his comrades, who had gained much by the said voyages, to join their stocks with his and purchase a ship. The vessel being bought, they unanimously chose him captain, and commander. With this ship he sailed from Jamaica to cruize on the coasts of Campeachy. He took several ships in this voyage, with which he returned in triumph.

At his return he found the old pirate Mansvelt busy in fitting out a considerable fleet, with a design to land on the continent, and commit all practicable depredations. Mansvelt readily concluded from Morgan's having returned with so many prizes that he was a man of intrepidity: he therefore chose him vice-admiral for his intended expedition. They sailed with fifteen large and small vessels from Jamaica, having on board of their little fleet 500 French and Walloons. They soon arrived at the isle of St Catherine, near the continent of Costa Rica, where they made their first descent, landing most of their men, who soon compelled the garrison entrusted with the defence of the island, to surrender it with all the castles and forts, which they immediately destroyed to one, wherein they lodged 100 men of their party, with all the slaves they had taken from the Spaniards.

They marched the rest of their corps to a little neighbouring island, and so near to St Catharine's that they passed thither in a few days over a bridge which they made for that purpose, and they carried with them all the ordnance they had taken in the great island. As soon as they had compleated the ruin of both the islands with fire and sword, they put to sea again with their Spanish prisoners, whom they set ashore soon after on the firm land near Puerto Velo. They then continued their cruize till they came to the river Colla, intending to plunder all the towns in those parts. But the governor of Panama having got intelligence of it, prevented

vented the pirates design ; wherefore they returned to St Catherine's, to visit the 100 men they had left in garrison there. Mansvelt died in a trip he made to Tortuga in order to raise men.

On the death of Mansvelt, Morgan succeeding to the chief command, used all possible means to keep the island of St Catherine, seated near Cuba, in his possession ; his principal intent being to make it a refuge and sanctuary to the pirates of those parts ; but in spite of all Morgan's efforts the Spaniards retook the said island ; who not dispirited by this loss, still meditated new schemes. He had been but two months in the southern ports of Cuba when he assembled a fleet of twelve sail, between large boats and ships, in which seven hundred fighting men, part French, part English, were embarked.

Their little council called, they debated on, and rejected several proposed expeditions, on account of their apparent impracticability. The proposition of assaulting the town of El Puerto del Principe, being universally approved, Morgan ordered every ship to weigh anchor and sail to the coast nearest to that town. Being arrived there in the bay called Puerto de Santa Maria, a Spanish prisoner swam ashore by night from the pirates fleet, and gave intelligence of their design to the inhabitants of the town ; who upon this salutary advice, began to hide their riches, and carry off their moveables.

The governor gathered about 800 men, prepared ambuscades for the pirates, and took possession of an advantageous stand, from which he could see the pirates advance. Morgan, with his men finding the avenues to the town rendered unpassable, they cut out to themselves a new way through the wood, which they found very difficult to execute : but by which means, however, they escaped several ambuscades prepared for them. They came at length to the plain called the Sheet, from its figure ; la Savanna, in Spanish.

The governor observing them to advance, detached

A troop of horse to charge them in front, thinking they would suffice to disperse them, intent himself to pursue them at the head of his main body. His design was baffled; for the pirates marched in very good order, with flying colours, and drums beating. When they had come up near the horse they drew into a semi-circle, and so formed, advanced towards the Spaniards, who charged them for some time very courageously; but the pirates being very expert at their arms, repulsed the efforts of the Spaniards; who having lost their governor, and many of their companions, retreated towards the wood, to save themselves with more advantage; but most of them were slaughtered by the pirates before they could reach the wood.

The battle lasted four hours, in which the pirates had but few killed and wounded. The town soon surrendered; and as soon as the pirates had possessed themselves of it, they shut up all the Spaniards, men, women, children and slaves, in several churches, plundering all they met; then they pillaged the country round about of all they could find. The greatest part of the Spanish prisoners were famish'd to death.

When they thought proper to depart from thence, they declared to the few surviving prisoners, that if they did not find money to ransom themselves, they should be transported to Jamaica; and if they would not pay a second ransom for the town, every house in it should be burnt to ashes. By such menaces they extorted considerably from them.

Morgan's final demand on them was five hundred oxen, with sufficient salt to powder them, and that they should carry them on board his ships. Thus he departed from the town with all his men, taking with him only six of the principal prisoners, as pledges. The Spaniards brought the cattle and salt to the ships next day, and required the prisoners, whom captain Morgan refused to deliver till they had helped his men to kill  
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and salt the beeves; which being quickly dispatched, and having received the articles he wanted on board his vessels, he released the hostages, and sailed from thence to an island, where captain Morgan intended to make a dividend of what they had got in that voyage. When arrived there, they found they had in money and goods but near the value of 50,000 pieces of eight, which caused a general grief among them, in as much as their Jamaica debts by far exceeded that sum.

Wherefore their leader, captain Morgan, proposed to them to think on some other expedition and plunder, rather than return home insolvent. But the French and English disagreeing, the former left captain Morgan with his own countrymen. notwithstanding all the arguments he used to persuade them to remain in his company. The English, tho' forsaken by the French, resolved to a man, to adhere to their brave commander, who was also joined on this occasion by a pirate of Campeachy; so that in a few days captain Morgan had a fleet of nine sail, either ships or great boats; wherein he embarked four hundred and sixty men. Every thing being in readiness, captain Morgan communicated his real design to no-body, but put to sea. He steered towards the continent, where he arrived in a few days, near Costa Ricca; his fleet in good order. The moment land was discovered. Morgan declared his scheme to the captains, and soon after to the company. The plundering of Porto Bello by night, he told them, was his scheme, which they approved unanimously, undismay'd by the strength of the place.

The intrepid Morgan, knowing perfectly well all the avenues of that city, and of the neighbouring coasts, arrived at Puerto de Naos, ten leagues to the west of Puerto Bello in the dusk of the evening. From thence they sailed up the river to another harbour called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored. Here they put themselves into boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a  
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few men to bring them next day to the port. They came to a place about midnight, called *Estera Longa Lemos*, where they all went ashore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city. Their guide was an Englishman, who had formerly been a prisoner in those parts. He and a few more were commissioned to take the sentinel, if practicable; if not to kill him on the spot. But they play'd their parts well, and seized him so cunningly, that he had not time to give warning with his musket, or to make any noise. They brought him (having pinioned his hands) before their commander, Morgan, who questioned him about the situation and strength of the city, and other interesting points, menacing him with death after each question, in case he prevaricated, or swerved in the least from truth.

They advanced towards the city, carrying the said sentinel bound before them. When they had marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the castle near the city, which they so suddenly invested, that no person could get in or out. Captain Morgan, now posted under the walls, commanded their prisoner, the sentinel, to speak to those within, charging them to surrender to his discretion, otherwise they should undergo military execution.

But they in the castle on the other hand, not regarding such threats, began to fire immediately, to the city's great alarm. Though the governor and soldiers made a vigorous defence, they were forced at last to surrender. The cruel conquerors, to make good their threats shut up all the officers and soldiers in one room, and having set fire to a great quantity of powder, blew up the castle, with all the Spaniards therein.

They next assailed the city, which as yet was not prepared for their reception. Several of the inhabitants threw their precious jewels and cash into wells and cisterns, or dug holes to hide them in the ground, that the pirates might not carry off all. One part of them,

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as commissioned, ran to the cloisters and took as many religious men and women as they could find. Though unable to rally the citizens, on account of their great confusion, the governor retired to one of the castles yet remaining, and from thence kept a continual firing on the pirates, to which they effectually replied, killing several Spaniards at each discharge; which provoked them to a still more vigorous defence; and that alarmed Morgan, lest he should fail in his attempt.

For a decisive effort, he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made with all expedition, and so broad that three or four men might mount together. As soon as they were finished, he commanded all the religious men and women, who had been lately made prisoners to fix them against the walls of the castle, threatening the governor, at the same time, with military execution, should he refuse to yield the castle; but the governor's officer-like answer was, *That he would never surrender himself alive.*

Morgan had imagined that the governor would not employ his utmost force, when he should perceive the ecclesiastical persons and religious women exposed to the greatest danger, in the very front of the soldiers. But the governor, to fulfil his duty, destroyed whoever approached, without having regard to any distinction of persons; though the religious men and women cried out constantly to him, and implored him in the names of all the saints in heaven to yield the castle, and thereby save all their lives. But the governor, persevering inflexible in his duty, many of the pious folks were killed before they could fix the ladders: which done, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, with determined bravery, carrying fire-balls in their hands, and earthen pots filled with powder, which when they had got on the top of the walls, they kindled, and threw down among the Spaniards. This assault of the pirates was so very impetuous, that they made themselves ma-

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sters of the castle; the Spaniards, totally disabled from making any longer defence, laid down their arms, and asked for quarter. This the governor scornng to do, slew many of the pirates with his own hand, and several of his soldiers for not having stood to their arms.

When the astonished pirates asked him if he would have quarter, his heroic answer was, *Not upon any account; for that he preferred to die a brave soldier, rather than be hanged as a base poltron.* They then used all endeavours to make him their prisoner, but he continued fighting so desperately, that they were obliged to kill him in their own defence; who, notwithstanding the tears and entreaties of his kneeling wife and daughter to save his life, fought bravely to the last.

The pirates having entire possession of the castle about night, shut all the prisoners therein, having placed the women by themselves with some guards; the wounded were thrust into an apartment, to recover by the energy of their groans, no other surgeon being allowed to them. While the successful pirates, indulged in every kind of debauchery, committing several rapes, and every other outrageous action.

Captain Morgan having extorted 100,000 pieces of eight, for the ransom of the prisoners, and for saving the town from being reduced to ashes, he provided his fleet with all necessaries; and having taken the best guns of the castle, he nailed up the rest, and sailed with all his ships from Puerto Bello. Arriving at Cuba in a few days, he sought a proper place for the dividends of the spoil to be delivered. They found amongst their plunder, in ready money, 250,000 pieces of eight, with divers articles of merchandize; as linen, cloth, silks, &c. With this great treasure they sailed to Jamaica, their common rendezvous, and there lived in riot and luxury.

It becoming necessary to undertake another expedition, in order to recruit their exhausted purses, they sailed for Savona, the place of their assignation. The

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fleet consisted of fifteen vessels; captain Morgan commanded the biggest, mounting only fourteen small guns. The number of his men did not exceed six hundred and ninety in the fifteen vessels; but on account that some of them had not joined him as yet, he reviewed the men with him, which were but five hundred effective. The vessels absent were seven: however he weighed anchor, and steered towards Curacao. As soon they were come within sight thereof, they landed at Ruba, another island situate to the westward of it about twelve leagues. This isle produces many venomous insects, such as vipers, spiders and others. The last are so pernicious, that a man bitten by them dies mad. The manner of recovering them is singular; which is, to tie them very fast, both hands and feet, during twenty four hours, and keep them without eating or drinking any thing. — After two days delay there to get in some necessaries, he sailed in the night, that no account might be given of what course he intended to steer.

They reached the sea of Maracaibo next day, taking great care not to be seen from Vigilia and therefore anchored out of sight of it. But when night came on they sailed again towards the land; and next morning, by break of day, were got directly over against the bar of the said lake. Since Lolonois's depredations there, the Spaniards had built another fort, from which they incessantly fired on the pirates, as they put their men into the boats in order to land them. In the obscurity of the night, captain Morgan drew near the fort, but on examining, found it to be deserted.

They left a match lighted near a train of powder, to blow up the pirates and the fortress, as soon as they should come into it; which Morgan having seen, prevented its taking effect. He found several pieces of artillery, some of which, with great quantities of powder, he carried off with him, having nailed up the rest. He then

then sailed for Maracaibo: when he landed his men there, they ran immediately to the fort de la Barra; which, like the precedent, they found unguarded; all the inhabitants having fled from thence into the wood; for none remained in the town but a few miserable people, who having nothing to lose, thought they had nothing to fear.

The pirates, on entering the town, searched every corner; but finding that all the inhabitants were fled, each party chose what houses they pleased: the church was appointed for the common *corps de Garde*. Morgan had detached an hundred men to seek for the inhabitants and their goods, who returned with thirty persons, men, women, and children, and fifty mules laden with valuable articles. These unhappy wretches were sentenced to the rack, in order to extort a confession from them where the other inhabitants had secreted themselves, and what goods they had got with them. These cruelties were continued for three weeks, during which time he sent out daily parties to seek for more people, to rob and torture them; they brought new booty and treasure at each return.

Morgan having now gotten into his hands about a hundred of the principal families, with all their goods, resolved to sail for Gibraltar, as Lolonois had done before. He provided his fleet with all necessaries; having put all the prisoners on board, he weighed anchor, and sailed, determined to give battle. Some prisoners he had detached before him to Gibraltar, to pre-advise the inhabitants to surrender to captain Morgan, if not they were to fear all the calamities of military execution. Terrified by such a declaration, they all fled from the town on the arrival of the pirates, who therein found but one man, and he was a natural, whom they barbarously tortured and executed, thinking him to be rather an affected, than a real fool, to conceal thereby his rank and riches.

The pirates divided into parties, to search every where for the dispersed Spaniards; and those who unhappily fell into their hands, suffered the most cruel treatment, and too horrible for humanity to read. Thus, after they had been in possession of the place five entire weeks, and committed an infinite number of rapes, robberies, murders, &c. they concluded to depart; but previously thereto, some prisoners were ordered to go forth into the woods and fields, and collect a ransom for the town; otherwise it was to be burnt to ashes.

These unhappy wretches went as they were sent; and having searched the adjoining fields and woods, returned to captain Morgan, and informed him that they had scarce been able to find any body; but to such as they met they proposed his demands; to which their answer was, that the governor had prohibited them to give any ransom for the town; but they entreated a little patience, saying, that among themselves they would collect 500 pieces of eight.

Morgan at last weighed anchor, and sailed in all haste for Maracaibo, where he arrived in four days, and found all things as he had left them. But he received the disagreeable news of three Spanish men of war being arrived at the entry of the lake, to wait the return of the pirates; and that the castle at the entrance thereof was put again into a good posture of defence; there being no scarcity of ammunition, men, guns, and every other requisite.

Morgan's mind being greatly perplexed by this news, he dispatched his swiftest sailing boat to view the entry of the lake, and try if the relation he had received was true. The boat, on her return next day, confirmed it; assuring him at the same time, that they had taken so near a view of the ships, as to have been in imminent danger from their shot; and asserted that the first ship mounted forty guns, the second thirty, and the

smallest twenty four, which caused a general consternation among the pirates, whose largest vessel had not above fourteen guns, and they but small ones. There appeared no possibility of escaping, either by sea or land.

Under so trying and disheartening a circumstance, Morgan resumed new courage; and resolving to give a new proof his undaunted spirit, sent a Spaniard to the admiral of those three ships, to demand a large ransom of him, for his having not burnt the city of Maracaibo. The pirates returned two days after, with a letter from Don Alfonso del Campo y Espinosa, admiral of the Spanish fleet, to captain Morgan, commander of the pirates; the contents of which were, a summons to surrender all their prisoners and ill-got riches, for which they should be let to retire, on condition of the pirates returning home to their respective countries, and renouncing that infamous manner of living; which indulgence, if refused, military execution on all was to be the consequence.

Morgan assembled his men in the market-place of Maracaibo, and having communicated to them the purport of the letter, he asked their opinion in so critical a situation, whether they would chuse to die fighting for their liberty, or make a tame surrender of all they had acquired? They all declared for fighting. One among them said to captain Morgan, that he would undertake to destroy the largest of the three Spanish ships of war; adding, let it be the rest of the fleet's business to take care of the other two. The method he proposed was, to convert the vessel they had taken in the river of Gibraltar into a fireship; and to conceal her from being known by the enemy as such, her decks were to be filled with logs of wood, standing erect, with montera caps and hats, to appear like men. A like finess was to be made use of at the port-holes that serve for the guns, wherein counterfeit cannon should



should be fixed, and English colours hung out at her stern; that by all this apparatus she should appear to the Spaniards as the pirates capital ship going to attack them——This proposal, which was approved and agreed to, did not entirely remove their apprehensions of danger.

Therefore captain Morgan sent next day two persons to Don Alfonso with these propositions, to wit, *First*, That he would quit the town of Maracaibo without damaging it in the least, or asking any ransom for not having burnt it. *Secondly*, That all the prisoners, and one half of the slaves, should without ransom be set at liberty. *Thirdly*, That the four chief inhabitants of Gibraltar, whom he had in his custody as hostages for the promised contributions, should be sent home freely.

These propositions of captain Morgan, commander of the pirates, were immediately rejected as shameful, by Don Alfonso's declaring that he would not hear of any other accommodation, and by his orders this peremptory message was sent back, *That if they did not make a voluntary surrender of themselves into his hands, within two days, agreeable to the conditions he had notified to them in his letter, he would, by immediately attacking, force them to a compliance.*

On receipt of this arbitrary message Morgan made all necessary preparations for an engagement, resolving to fight his way out of the lake, rather than surrender any thing. His first care was to order all the slaves and prisoners being tied together under a sufficient guard: his next was to collect all the tar, pitch and brimstone they could find in the town for the fitting out the fire ship as proposed above; and every article on board thereof was executed with great dexterity in order to deceive the Spaniards the more effectually. This completed, they prepared to go to the entry of the port.

All the prisoners were put into one great boat; and

in another of the largest boats, the plate, jewels, and all valuables were placed along with the women. Into others were put the bales of goods and merchandize, and all bulky materials. In each of these three boats were three men well armed; the fire-ship was ordered to take the lead and attack the Spanish admiral. Morgan exacted an oath from all his companions, that they would conquer or perish, promising rewards to all those who should distinguish themselves in the action. Pursuant to so courageous a resolution, they sailed in quest of the Spaniards.

It was on the 30th of April 1669, that the Spaniards were seen riding at anchor in the middle of the entry of the lake by the pirates. Morgan, it being almost night, ordered his vessels to cast anchor, intending if forced to fight them all night. Each vessel of his little fleet was ordered to keep a careful watch till morning, the enemy being within shot of them; at the break of day they weighed anchor and sailed directly towards the Spaniards, who, on seeing the pirates move, began to do so too. The foremost of the pirate-fleet attacked the enemy's great ship and grappled her, which the Spaniards discovered to be a fire ship too late. They did all they could to put her off, but in vain; for the flames having seized her tackling and timber soon devoured all the stern, and the fore part immediately sinking, she perished. The second Spanish ship perceiving their admiral to burn, not by accident, but by design of the enemy, escaped towards the castle, where the Spaniards themselves sunk her, chusing rather to lose her, than she should fall a prey to the pirates. There being no possibility for the third ship's escaping, the pirates took her.

Some Spaniards who swam from the first ship towards shore were offered quarter by the pirates, which they refused, and chose rather to sink than take quarter from the pirates, who were highly pleased at so signal a victory, and so easily obtained, notwithstanding the

the great superiority of the enemy's forces over theirs. This success so excited them, that they immediately ran ashore with an intent to take the castle, which to their no small disappointment, they found to be well provided with ammunition, cannon, and men. They had no other arms than muskets, and hand-granadoes. Their artillery they judged incapable of making any breach in the wall on account of its smallness.

They employed the remainder of the day in firing at the garrison with their muskets till evening; then in order to throw in their fire balls they endeavoured to advance nearer the walls. The Spaniards on their side being determined to sell their lives dear, fired so furiously on them, that the pirates deterred by the obstinate bravery of the enemy, and having lost thirty of their men killed, and having as many more wounded, retired to their ships with precipitation, and soon after returned with all their fleet to Maracaibo; where Morgan refitted the great ship he had taken, and chose it for himself, giving his own bottom to one of his captains. The remaining difficulty was now to get out of the lake, and escape the fire of the castle. The following stratagem was agreed on as the best expedient to get off.

The day preceding the night intended for their escape, they embarked many of their men in canoes, and rowed towards the shore, as if they designed to land them. There they hid themselves a while under the branches of the trees that hung over the coast, and laid themselves down in the boats. Then the canoes returned to the ships with only the appearance of two or three men rowing them, the rest lying unseen at the bottom of the canoes. Nothing more could be perceived by those in the castle; and this seeming landing of men was repeated several times that day. These movements made the Spaniards imagine that the pirates intended to scale and force the castle that night. Which

apprehension influenced them to place most of their great guns on the land side, with their main force. They left the side towards the sea almost destitute of defence.

Wished for night being come, the pirates weighed anchor, by the light of the moon; and without setting sail, fell with the ebbing tide, which gently brought them down the river, till they were near the castle; and when almost over against it, they spread their sails with all expedition; which as soon as the Spaniards perceived, they removed their guns to the sea side with all possible dispatch, and began to fire very furiously on the escaping pirates.

But the wind proving very favourable to them, they were almost out of danger before the guns of the castle could hurt them; so that they did not suffer much in men or rigging. Just as he had passed by, captain Morgan ordered seven great guns, charged with bullets, to be fired against the castle, by way of taking his leave of them; but they had not the manners to answer him even with a musket shot. Enriched by those various pil-lagings, he arrived safely at Jamaica, where he soon found many of his officers and sailors reduced to their former indigency, by their vices and debaucheries: hence they persecuted him for new exploits, to furnish new supplies for their extravagancies in strumpets and wine.

Morgan, willing to follow the banners of fortune, whose adopted favourite he seemed to be; stopped the clamours of many of the inhabitants of Jamaica, creditors to his men for large sums, with the repeated assurance of greater achievements (from a new-projected expedition by him) than had ever been known as yet; which was no sooner rumoured than men flocked to him, on account of his great name, from every part.

He proposed to equip a new fleet, and assigned for their place of rendezvous the south side of Tortuga, whither they all repaired the 24th of October, 1670. Captain  
Morgan.



Morgan was not among the last. Having assembled the greatest part of his fleet, he called a council of war to deliberate about finding provisions for so many people. It was resolved to send four ships and one boat, with 400 men, to the continent, in order to plunder some villages and towns for corn and maize.

Captain Morgan sent in the mean time another party to hunt in the woods, who slaughtered and salted a great number of beasts, while the rest of his men remained in their ships, to clean, fit, and rig them; that at the return of their companions, all things might be ready for weighing anchor, in order to execute the projects of their successful commander.

These four ships sailed from Hispaniola to the river de la Hacha, where they were suddenly becalmed, which reduced them to a state of inaction for some days. The Spaniards who lived along the coast, discovering them to be enemies, had time sufficient to prepare for their defence or safety, and to hide their most valuable effects. A ship from Cartagena being then in the river, and laden with maize, fell into the hands of the pirates, and was a very welcome booty, being a good part of what they came for.

About the dawn of day next morning the pirates landed, whom the Spaniards vigorously resisted from a battery they had purposely raised to oppose their landing; but being overpowered, were forced to retire to a village. The Spaniards rallying here, fell upon them with great fury, and maintained a strong combat which lasted till night; then they retired to secret places in the woods; the loss of men having been mutual on both sides, and not inconsiderable.

The pirates finding that they were all fled next day, and the town quite empty of people, pursued them as far as they could and overtook a party of Spaniards, whom they made prisoners, and practised on them the most cruel torments, in order to force them to con-

for their goods, and where concealed; which some did, unable to undergo the pain any longer; those who would not, were still more barbarously treated.

During the fifteen days the pirates remained there, they made many prisoners, seized on a great deal of plate and moveables: with these spoils they resolved to return to Hispaniola, for which place they set out, having got four hundred *Hanegs*, or bushels of maiz, as a ran om for not burning the town. They had been absent five weeks on this commission; which very long delay made captain Morgan almost despair of ever seeing them. At one time, fearing they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; apprehending at another time, that having been very successful in the voyage, they had escaped therewith to some other part of the world.

The greater his anxiety was during their absence, the greater also was his satisfaction in seeing them return augmented in number, and laden with the articles he wanted. Captain Morgan divided the maiz, as well as the flesh which the hunters had brought, among his ships, proportionably to their respective crews, and resolved to depart, having previously examined the condition each ship was in, and observed their being clean and well equipped, which done, he sailed and bore away for cape Tiburon, where on his arrival, he met some other ships newly come from Jamaica to join him; by which increase, his fleet swelled to the number of thirty-seven ships; which, besides mariners and boys, had two thousand fighting men on board. The admiral mounted twenty-two great guns, and six small ones of brass; the others mounted, some twenty, some eighteen, some sixteen, and the smallest at least four: they had besides great quantities of ammunition, fire-balls, &c.

The admiral of the fleet, Morgan, seeing himself at the head of so many ships, divided them into two squadrons, constituting a vice-admiral, and other officers  
of

of the second squadron, distinct from the former. To these he gave letters-patent, or commissions, to act all manner of hostilities against the Spanish nation, where-soever they should meet them. Then some articles of agreement between the officers and the admiral, concerning the respective shares of all prizes which should be taken were signed.

Affairs being thus settled, Morgan ordered his fleet to weigh anchor from the cape Tiburon, December, 16, 1670. They came four days after within sight of St. Catherine's, in the possession of the Spaniards, to which place they banished all their malefactors in the West-Indies. As soon as the fleet was near the island, Morgan dispatched one of his best sailing ships to view the entry of the river, and see if any ships were there that might oppose his landing, or prevent his design, by giving intelligence of his arrival to the inhabitants. Before sun-rise next day, all the fleet anchored near the island, in a bay called Aguade Grande.

The Spaniards had raised a battery on this fort, mounted with four pieces of cannon. Morgan landed a thousand men in different parties, and marched them through the woods, though he had no other guide than a few of his own men, who had been there but once before, under Mansvelt the governor, &c. had retired to the lesser island, which was so well fortified with batteries and forts round it, as to make it seem impregnable. It was joined by a bridge to the greater island.

As soon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates approach, they fired on them so furiously as to hinder them from making any advances that day, who found themselves under a necessity of retreating, and telling in the open fields: to the latter inconvenience they had been pretty well inured; hunger-afflicted them most, inasmuch as during that day they had not eat any thing.

To add to their calamitous situation, it rained so hard about midnight, that it required great resolution

to hold out against it; the greatest part of them having no other cloathing, than a pair of seamen's trowsers, and were bare legged. They pulled down a few thatched houses, to make fires in this pinching extremity. They were in so dispirited a condition, that an hundred men indifferently armed might have totally defeated them that night.

The rain ceased about break of day, next morning. Having dried their arms, they began to march; but soon after it rained a-new, and heavier than before, which debarred their advancing towards the forts, from which they were continually fired on by the Spaniards. Morgan perceiving his people inclined to despond, thought it highly necessary to have recourse to some expedient: for which purpose he commanded a canoe to be rigged immediately, and colours of truce to be hanged out. He sent the canoe to the Spanish governor with this message, *That if he would not deliver himself and his men into his hands within a few hours, that he, Morgan, and all those in his company, swore to him by the messenger, that he (the governor) and all the Spaniards, should suffer military execution.*

The canoe returned with this answer in the afternoon, to wit, *That the governor desired two hours to deliberate with his officers, and that he would send a positive answer at the expiration of that time.*—Accordingly the governor sent two canoes, with white colours, and and two agents, to enter into a treaty with the admiral of the pirates, from whom they demanded two persons as hostages before they landed, which was readily granted: and, as pledges for the security required, Morgan sent two of his captains.

The Spanish governor's shameful proposal was, to yield up the place; but that to save his reputation, a sham fight should be carried on with incessant firing from the artillery on both sides, but without bullets, &c. Morgan readily assented to the scandalous proposal, which



which was to give him possession of an island on such easy terms. The number of prisoners amounted to 459 men, women, and children, among whom were 190 soldiers.

The pirates disarmed all the Spaniards, and sent them out immediately to the plantations, to seek for provisions, leaving the women in the churches to practise their devout exercises. They soon after made a general review of the island, and all the fortresses thereof, which they found to be nine in all. Above 30,000 pounds of powder, with all other ammunition, were found in the store-houses, and carried on board by the pirates. They stopped up and nailed all the guns, and demolished the fortresses. That of St. Jerom's was the only one they let stand, in order to keep a guard there.

The admiral ordered a diligent enquiry to be made for any banditti from Panama or Puerto Bello; three were found, and brought into his presence; they pretended to be perfectly well acquainted with all the avenues in those parts. He then proposed to them to undertake being his guides, and shew him the safest way to Panama; which, if they would faithfully perform, he promised them equal shares in the plunder of that expedition, and liberty on their arrival at Jamaica. The banditti eagerly accepted these proposals, promising to serve him most faithfully; and one of them more especially, to wit, the greatest thief, rogue, and assassin among the three.

Morgan issued his orders for the equipping of four ships and one boat, and the furnishing them with necessaries, in order to go and attack the castle of Chagre, situate on the river of the same name. He did not chuse to sail thither with his whole fleet, lest the Spaniards might be alarmed in regard to Panama. To execute his orders against the castle, he embarked 400 men in those vessels: he remained in the mean time at

St.

St. Catherine's, with the rest of the fleet, to hear how his scheme against the castle should succeed.

One captain Brodley was chosen by Morgan for vice-admiral of the little fleet sent against Chagre. He was a man of eminence, and had distinguished himself in the piratical profession. From the time of his departure, Brodley arrived in three days in sight of the castle of Chagre, called St Lawrence by the Spaniards; it is well fortified by art and nature. As soon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates, they fired incessantly on them with great guns, who notwithstanding came to anchor in a small port, not above a league from the castle.

The pirates went ashore early next morning, and marched through the woods to attack the castle. Their march lasted till two in the afternoon, by reason of the difficulties of the way, through mire and dirt. Tho' their guides acquitted themselves very faithfully, yet where they pierced from the wood was so nigh the castle at first, that it being an open place without cover, the pirates lost many of their men by the shot from the castle. This threw them into great perplexity, as they were uncertain which course to take; for they were under a necessity of making an assault on that side; but being uncovered from head to foot, every step they advanced they were the more exposed to danger. The situation and strength of the castle increased their doubts of succeeding.

Their desperate situation urged them on to a desperate attempt, as their last resource: they boldly marched to the castle, their swords in one hand, and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards made a vigorous defence, firing incessantly on them, and loudly exclaiming, *Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our sovereign; let your companions, whom you have left behind, come on too; ye shall not reach Panama this bout.* The pirates were repulsed in their attempt to scale the walls,

walls, and rested themselves till night, which being come, they returned to the assault, and endeavoured to burn the pales before the wall with their fire-balls, which they effected, and set fire also to the palisadoes : by which means several breaches were made by the fire among the pales, great heaps of earth falling into the ditch ; by which the pirates were encouraged to climb up, in order to get into the castle. Such of the Spaniards as were not occupied about extinguishing the fire, which had reached several houses, threw down many flaming pots full of combustible matter and odious smells, by which many of the English were destroyed. All the efforts of the Spaniards could not prevent the palisadoes from being burnt down before midnight.

The pirates still prosecuted their scheme of taking the castle ; and notwithstanding the violence of the fire, would creep on the ground as near as they could, and dart amidst the flames against the Spaniards on the other side. When day-light returned, they observed all the moveable earth that had been between the pales to be fallen into the ditch ; so that, in their turn, those within the castle lay equally exposed to them without ; whereupon the pirates renewed their fire with more vigour than hitherto, and killed many Spaniards ; for their governor had charged them to make good those posts answering to the heaps of earth fallen into the ditch, and ordered the artillery to be transported to the breaches. The fire from within the castle still continuing, the besieging pirates did all they could to hinder its progress, by shooting incessantly against it : One party of them was employed for this purpose, whilst another watched every motion of the besieged.

The English gained a breach about noon, which the governor in person, at the head of twenty five soldiers, had defended. The Spaniards made a valiant opposition, with muskets, stones, pikes, and swords ; but the pirates fought their way till they gained the castle.

The few remaining Spaniards threw themselves down from the castle into sea, chusing rather to perish thus than to ask quarter for their lives. The governor retreated to the *corps de garde*, before which two pieces of cannon were placed; there he still resolutely defended himself, nobly disdaining to ask for quarter; and his valiant life was cut short by a musket ball.

After the death of their brave governor, the *corps de garde* surrendered. The pirates found but thirty men alive, and but ten not wounded; who informed the pirates, that eight or nine of their soldiers, who had deserted, were gone to Panama, to give intelligence of their arrival and invasion. These 30 men were all that remained of the 314 who had garrisoned the castle; among them was not one officer surviving. They were all made prisoners. The taking of this castle cost the pirates excessively dear, both in labour and loss of men: they had above 100 killed, and 70 wounded.

They ordered the Spanish prisoners to throw their own dead from the top of the mountain to the sea-side, and to bury them. The wounded were carried to the church which was converted to an hospital. There they shut up the women, making it also a place of prostitution; for the pirates committed every act of violence on those unhappy widows.

After advice received of the taking of the castle of Chagre, admiral Morgan remained not long behind at St Catherine's, but sailed for Chagre, where he arrived in eight days. The joy of his fleet was so excessive, on their first espying English colours on the castle, that they minded not their way into the river; by which remissness four ships were lost at its entrance, one of which was Morgan's; all the men and goods were saved from the wrecks.

Admiral Morgan was ushered to the castle amidst the general acclamations of all the pirates. Having heard the manner and circumstances of the conquest, he expressed



pressed the highest satisfaction; then gave orders to all the prisoners to work and repair what was necessary; especially to erect new palisadoes round the forts of the castle. There were yet in the river some Spanish vessels called Chatten, which served to carry merchandize up and down, and go to Nicaragua and Puerto Bello. They commonly mount two great iron guns, and four small ones of brass. The pirates made a seizure of them, as well as of four little ships, and all the canoes they found there.

A garrison of 500 men was left in the castle, and 150 more in the ships on the river. Then Morgan set out from the castle of Chagre towards Panama, on the 18th of August 1670. He had with him 1200 men, five boats laden with artillery, and 32 canoes.

They sailed only six leagues the first day, and came to a place called de Los Bracos. A party of his men went a-shore to sleep and stretch their limbs, being almost crippled on account of their having been so much crowded in the boats. As soon as they had rest, themselves a while, their next care was to seek for victuals in the neighbouring plantations; but they could find none; for the Spaniards having fled, carried all the provisions with them. This day the first of their journey, was a melancholy beginning; for there was such a scarcity of provisions among them, that the greatest part had no other support but a pipe of tobacco. These difficulties arose from captain Morgan's having neglected to bring provisions with him, imagining that he should find sufficiently thereof among the Spaniards in his progress to Panama.

About evening the next day they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego. At this place the river being very dry for want of rain, and obstructed by many trees having fallen into it, they were under a necessity of leaving their boats and canoes. They were informed by the guides, that the country about two

leagues farther up would prove very favourable to continue their journey by land; they left behind them 160 men to defend their boats from all attacks; which they intended should serve them as a refuge in case their scheme should be defeated.

In the morning of the third, their march proved so difficult that they were forced to have recourse to their canoes, though the assistance they could give them was but very small. By their means however they tugged a little farther up the river to a place called Cedro Bueno. The pirates were desirous of meeting some Spaniards, or Indians, in hopes to assuage the excessive hunger they had endured, with their provisions.

The greatest part of the pirates, led by one of their guides, marched by land the fourth day; the rest, conducted by another guide, went farther up the river. This guide went always before them and scoured the river on both sides, in order to discover the ambuscades the pirates had been apprized were laid for them; but those in the ambuscades had counter-spies very alert in giving notice of all accidents, or of the approach of the pirates, and that commonly six hours before they arrived. About noon the pirates came near a post called Torna Cavallos; the guide of the canoes gave notice of an ambuscade.

It was a welcome notice to the pirates, who hoped to find some provisions there; but when come to the place they did not find any body there; for the Spaniards had fled on the news of the pirates approach, and left but a few empty leathern bags behind. A few crumbs of bread scattered on the ground where they had eaten, exasperated the pirates hunger, which was so gnawing and outrageous that they eat the leathern bags, and there was as much fighting about them as there could be for better food. After this coarse repast they marched on, and about night reached another post called Torna Munni, the place of another ambuscade

Bascaide, but they found it was as deserted and barren as the former. They searched the neighbouring woods in quest of something to eat; but the Spaniards had taken care not to leave the least article that could serve for sustenance.

In this intolerable distress happy was the man who had preserved since noon any bit of leather to make his supper of, drinking a large draught of water, which then was a kind of envied luxury. The pirates manner of cooking leather is not unworthy of notice; they first cut it in slices, then beat them between two stones, and rubbed them well, often dipping it into water to render them supple and tender. Finally, they scraped off the hair and broiled them. Being thus dressed, they cut them into small morsels, chewed them, which frequent gulps of water helped to go down.

They came to a place called Barbacoa the fifth day about noon, where they discovered the traces of another ambuscade, and as destitute of all provisions as the preceding ones; but after having searched a long time in its neighbourhood, they descried a grot, and in it found two sacks filled with meal, wheat, and other provisions, with two large jars full of wine, and certain fruits called Platano.

Admiral Morgan ordered what was found to be first distributed among those who were in the greatest necessity, and then among those who were less so. As soon as they had refreshed themselves with those victuals, they renewed their march with alacrity. Those who appeared very weak were put into the canoes, and those who had been in them before were commanded to land.

They continued their journey in this manner till late in the night. They then came to a plantation where they went to rest, but supperless, for the Spaniards had carried away all manner of provision from this place.

They prosecuted their journey the sixth day partly by water, partly by land; which they were obliged to

interrupt frequently on account of the ruggedness of the road, and their excessive weakness, which they struggled to relieve by eating grass, green herbs, or leaves of trees. About noon they came to a plantation where they found a barn full of maiz. They instantly broke open the doors, and greedily devoured as much as they could of it dry. But a dry distribution being soon made, every man got a good allowance.

Thus recruited they journeyed forward for about an hour, and came up with another ambuscade; at sight of which they imprudently threw away their maiz, imagining they should find every thing there in abundance. But they were soon convinced of their error, meeting neither Indians, victuals, nor any thing else. They saw indeed 100 Indians on the other side of the river, who fled from the approach of the pirates: some of them leapt into the river in order to pursue and take some of the Indians, but they being nimbler than the pirates, not only baffled but killed two or three with their arrows, and scoffed at them, crying, *Ha! Perros, a la Savana, a la Savana*; which imports in English, Go to the plain, go the plain, ye dogs. They could advance no farther that day, being under a necessity of passing the river in order to continue their journey on the other side of it. They rested there that night, during which great murmurings were heard against the admiral and his conduct; some declared for returning home, others swore they would perish in the greatest difficulties rather than retreat a step from their undertaking; the intrepid ones turned all their sufferings into merriments; but they were all animated by the declaration of their guide, who asserted that they should soon meet with something to their advantage.

In the morning of the seventh day, each man cleaned his arms, and discharged his pistol, or musket, without ball, in order to try their firelocks; which done they crossed the river, and quitted the port where  
they



they had rested, called Santa Cruz. They reached a village called Crue at noon.

They were as yet at some distance from the place, but they perceived with pleasure the smoke ascending from different parts ; which gave great joy, as it promised them a certainty of finding people there, and plenty of good cheer. Feasting in imagination, they hastened their steps, and thus encouraged each other, *Yonder is smoke, my lads, which comes out of every house. Little do they know the unexpected guests, who are to eat what they are now roasting and boiling.*

The pirates arrived there all covered with sweat, and out of breath, but to their inexpressible astonishment, found no person in the town, nor any thing eatable to refresh themselves. There was fire enough if they had any thing to dress, for the Spaniards, before their departure from thence, set fire to all their houses. The king's store-houses and stables only were not committed to the flames ; not a beast alive or dead was left behind them ; which from their late glimmering of hope, plunged them into greater anxiety than ever. They found a few cats and dogs which they immediately killed and lived upon.

In the king's stables they were so lucky at last as to find fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a leather sack full of bread. As soon as they had drunk this wine, they sickened almost to a man. A suspicion of the wine's being poisoned spread consternation and despair throughout the camp. But the sickness arose from their long want of sustenance, and the different trash they had eaten. They were not able to continue their journey till the afternoon of the following day.

The admiral was forced to leave his canoes at the place, and to land all his men however weak ; but as he could not spare men for the defence of the canoes, and lest they should be surprized, except one, which he had to serve for carrying intelligence, he sent them back

to where the boats were. The Spaniards and Indians who had fled from this place were only retired to the neighbouring plantations; wherefore the admiral ordered that none should go out of the village, except in companies of 100 together, being apprehensive of attacks from the enemy.

One party notwithstanding, tempted with the desire of victuals, went out in contradiction to his command; but they soon returned to the town with precipitation, having been assaulted very furiously by some Indians and Spaniards, who carried one of them away.

The admiral detached 200 men before the body of his army in the morning of the eighth day, that they might reconnoitre the road to Panama, and discover what ambuscades might be prepared: for the way leading to it was so narrow, that only ten or twelve persons, and sometimes not so many, could march a-breast. They came to a place called Quebrada Obscura, after ten hours march; where all on a sudden they were saluted with a volley of 3 or 4000 arrows, but they could neither perceive from whence they came, nor who shot at them. This numerous flight of arrows greatly alarmed the pirates, who, as there was no retreating, marched a little farther, and entered a wood, where they perceived some Indians flying as fast as their heels could carry them, to take the advantage of another post, and observe the pirates march.

However, a troop of Indians remained on the place, resolved to fight and defend themselves; which they did vigorously, till their wounded captain falling, dispirited them. The pirates endeavoured to make some of them prisoners; but they being swifter, escaped, having killed eight of the pirates, and wounded ten. A little after they came to a large champaign, open, and full of fine meadows; from whence they perceived before them, at a distance, some Indians on the top of a mountain, near the way by which they were to pass.

They

They dispatched fifty men, the nimblest they had, to try to catch any of them, and compel them to discover their companions; but all in vain, they had too much speed for the pirates, and shewing themselves presently in another place, cried aloud to the English, and insultingly, *Cornudos, Perros Ingleses, a la Savana, a la Savana*. Ye cuckolds, ye English dogs, to the plain, to the plain.

About the break of the ninth day of this tedious journey, admiral Morgan marched, and continued so to do while the fresh air of the morning lasted; for the clouds suspended over their heads were more favourable to them than the sun's scorching rays, the way becoming now more difficult. At the end of two hours march they discovered between twenty and thirty Spaniards, who observed their motions. As soon as they had ascended to the summit of a high mountain, they discovered the South-sea. This pleasing sight appearing like the end of their labour, diffused a general joy among them. They also descried one ship and six boats sailing from Panama to the islands of *Tovago* and *Tovagilla*.

They then descended into a vale, where they found cattle in plenty, many of which they killed. While some slaughtered and flayed the cows, horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there was the greatest abundance, others kindled fires, and got wood to roast them. Too impatient and hungry to wait for any regular dressing, they cut the meat into convenient pieces or gobbets, which they threw into the fire, and devoured them half-roasted with incredible gluttony, the blood streaming down from the beards to the waists of many of them; they were more like Canibals than Europeans.

Having finished their beastly repast, the admiral ordered them to continue their march, having detached 250 men before the main body in order to scour the country

country. About evening 200 Spaniards were discovered, who halloed to the pirates, but they understood them not. Soon after the pirates came in sight of the highest steeple of Panama, at which they were so transported, that they cast up their hats in the air, leaping and shouting as if they had already conquered, and were in possession of the city. All their trumpets were sounded, and their drums beat, to accompany this alacrity of their minds. They pitched their camp, and waited with impatience the return of light.

Early in the morning of the tenth day, the admiral put his men in order, the drums beating, and trumpets sounding, and marched directly towards the city of Panama. One of the guides cautioned him against following the common highway, lest any ambuscades should be prepared there. He took the guide's advice, and chose another way through the woods, though very difficult.

The Spaniards perceiving that the pirates had taken another way, were compelled to leave their ships and batteries, and march forth to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in the best order he could: they consisted of two squadrons of horse, and four regiments of foot, and a prodigious number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, negroes, and others.

The pirates had by this time marched to the top of a little hill, from which they had a large view of the country, and champaign country underneath; where they discovered the forces of Panama drawn up in battle-array to be so numerous, that they began to think less confidently of their carrying the day. Their commander divided them into three battalions, having detached before 200 of the most dextrous at their guns. They then descended the hill, and marched directly towards



wards the Spaniards, who waited their coming in a spacious field.

When the Spaniards observed them to advance, they began to shout and cry aloud, *Viva el Rey*, God save the king. Their horse immediately marched against the pirates; but they could not wheel about as readily as was desired, on account of the field's being full of quags, and soft under foot. Each of the 200 Bucaniers (who had been detached before) putting one knee to the ground, they began the battle briskly with a full volley of shot: the Spaniards fought with great bravery, doing all they could to throw the pirates into confusion: their foot endeavouring to second their horse, was forced by the pirates to abandon them; notwithstanding which repulse, their next attempt was to drive the wild bulls against them behind, to put them into disorder; but the wild cattle ran away, scared at the din and thunder of the battle. A few of them indeed broke through the English companies, and all the damage they did was to tear the colours in pieces, but they were soon shot dead by the Bucaniers.

The greatest part of the Spanish horse was disabled, nay almost destroyed in this battle, which lasted two hours. The few surviving and unhurt ran away; which the foot observing, and judging it out of their power to conquer the enemy, discharged the round of shot they had in their muskets, then threw them down, and fled different ways. The pirates, too much harrassed and wearied with their long journey, could not follow them. Many of the Spaniards, not being able to fly to the places they intended, hid themselves for the present among the shrubs of the sea-side, which was a very unhappy choice; for most of them being found there by the pirates, were unmercifully slaughtered. Some religious men were brought prisoners before the admiral, who, deaf to all their cries, commanded them to be shot

shot immediately, which sentence was carried into instant execution.

A captain was brought before him soon after, whom he very strictly examined. He asked him particularly in what consisted the forces of Panama. The captain replied, that their whole strength consisted in 400 horse, 24 companies of foot, each composed of 100 men complete, 60 Indians, and some Negroes, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls upon the English, in order to break their files, and put them into disorder. He added, that in the city they had made trenches, and raised batteries in several places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the high way leading to the city they had built a fort mounted with eight brass guns, and defended by 50 men. In consequence of this information, admiral Morgan gave immediate orders to march another way. Having reviewed his men, he found a greater number of them to be killed and wounded than had been at first imagined. Six hundred Spaniards were found dead, besides their wounded and prisoners.

Notwithstanding their loss, the pirates prepared to march courageously towards the city; in approaching which they found much difficulty; for the Spaniards had placed many great guns at several quarters, within the town, some of which were charged with small pieces of iron, and others with musket balls. They were constantly fired at the pirates, who consequently lost numbers at every advance they made: but no loss dismayed or stopt their progress: for though the Spaniards never ceased firing, and made the most vigorous defence they could, yet after three hours combat they were forced to yield.

The pirates having destroyed those who attempted in the least to oppose them, possessed themselves of the city, from which the inhabitants, long before the battle, had transported their most valuable effects to remote places

places of safety. The pirates, however, found in the city several ware-houses well stocked with merchandize, to wit, Silks, clothes, linen, &c. and other rich articles.

Admiral Morgan assemb'ed his men, as soon as their first fury after entering into the town was over, and commanded them not to drink or taste any wine, under severe penalties; and the reason he gave for such a command was, his having received advice of its being poisoned; his real motive was a truly political one, lest any excess, after their late abstinence, might make them sick, and consequently become an easy prey to their enemies.

As soon as he had placed necessary guards at several quarters within and without the city, he commanded twenty five men to seize on a great boat, which had stuck in the mud of the port for want of water at low tide. About noon the same day he ordered fire to be privately set to several great edifices of the city that no body might know the authors of it; and Morgan's motives for so doing are to this day unknown. The fire increased so rapidly, that before night the greatest part of the city was in a flame. Morgan finding this proceeding blamed by his own people, laid it on the Spaniards.

Many Spaniards and several of the pirates did all they could, employing every method, to extinguish the fire, but in vain. The houses of Panama were all built with cedar, very curiously and richly adorned, especially with hangings and paintings, a great part of which had been removed before this wanton conflagration. In this city, the See of a bishop, were eight monasteries, seven for men, and one for women, two stately churches and one hospital. The churches and monasteries magnificently adorned with altar-pieces, and other fine pieces of painting, with a quantity of gold, silver, and other precious things; all which the eccle-

siaftics had concealed, on seeing the storm approach.

There were moreover two thousand superb buildings, inhabited for the most part by very rich merchants; there were five thousand of humbler structure, for the middling sort and tradesmen. There were also many stables for the mules and horses that carry the king of Spain's plate, as well as that of some particulars towards the north sea. The neighbouring fields abound with pleasant gardens, and fertile plantations, affording all the year round delicious prospects to the inhabitants. The Genoese had a stately house in this city for their negro trade, which by Morgan's orders was burnt to the ground. There were besides two hundred ware-houses, and many slaves who had hid themselves therein, with innumerable sacks of meal consumed by the fire, which from its commencement continued burning four weeks without interruption.

The greatest part of the pirates still encamped without the city, fearing lest the Spaniards might come and fight them anew, it being notorious that they were superior in number. They had put their wounded, who were numerous, in the only remaining church, the others having been all consumed by the flames. Besides the other diminutions of his corps, the admiral dispatched 150 men to the castle of Chagre, to carry thither the news of the victory.

He often observed whole troops of Spaniards scouting to and fro in the fields, which made him suspect their having a notion of rallying; but that they had not courage to do. When his troops had entered the city, he bid every one take up their lodging where they could, which was a difficult matter to agree about, as very few houses remained from the fire.

He ordered his people to search carefully among the ruins and ashes for utensils of plate or gold that might have escaped the force of the flames; of which they found great quantities, especially in wells, where they  
had



had been hid by the Spaniards. He detached the next day two troops of 150 stout and well armed men each, to go in quest of the escaped inhabitants. After two days excursions all around, they returned with above 200 prisoners, men, women, and slaves. The boat he had sent to the South Sea returned the same day, and brought three other boats she had taken, with her.

Much about the same time the convoy which Morgan had sent to the castle of Chagre returned, and brought very agreeable news, to wit, that while he was on his journey to Panama, those he had left in the castle of Chagre had sent two boats a cruising. They met a Spanish ship, and chased her within sight of the castle; which being observed by the pirates in the castle, they hung out Spanish colours to lure the ship that fled before the boats; by which artifice she ran into the snare, and was taken. The freight of her consisting chiefly in victuals and provisions, than which nothing could be more welcome to the castle, where they began already to want such articles. The success of those at Chagre caused captain Morgan to stay longer at Panama, ordering daily new excursions into the neighbouring parts. While the pirates at Panama were thus employed, those at Chagre were on the look-out for prizes on the North Sea. The unhappy wretches brought before Morgan were put to the most exquisite tortures, to make them confess their own and other peoples goods.

Their wanton cruelty spared neither sex nor condition: religious persons and priests met with less mercy than others, unless they could produce a sufficient ransom. Women were no better used, except when they submitted to the filthy lust of the pirates; for such as would not consent, were treated with all the rigour imaginable. In this particular, Morgan was no better than any of his detestable desperadoes.

Admiral Morgan having sojourned at Panama full

three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure, and ordered each company of his men to take as many beasts of carriage as might convey the whole spoil to the river where his canoes lay.

A rumour prevailed about this time, that a great number of the people intended to leave him, and seize on a ship then in the port; and that their determination was to go and rob on the South Sea, till they should have got a sufficiency to live comfortably at home the rest of their lives. For this purpose they had collected provisions that were then hid in private places, with bullets, powder, and all necessary ammunition.

Had not admiral Morgan received timely advice of this conspiracy from one of the associates, it would certainly have taken effect: whereupon he gave immediate orders for the cutting down of the masts of the said ship, and its being burnt, with those of the other boats in the port, which frustrated the scheme against him.

He then sent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to seek for money, to ransom not only themselves, but the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiastics. He moreover commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and stopped up. He detached at the same a strong company of men in quest of the governor of Panama, on his having received intelligence that the said governor had prepared many ambuscades in the way, by which he, Morgan, was to return. It was indeed affirmed by some prisoners, that the governor had an intention of causing some opposition by the way, but that the men he meant to employ therein declined the undertaking.

Admiral Morgan departed from the place where Panama stood, February 24, 1671. He carried off with him 175 beasts of burden laden with spoils, consisting of silver, gold, and other precious things, and about 600 prisoners, men, women, children, and slaves. They came to a river that day, which flows through a

delicious plain, within a league of Panama. Here Morgan drew up his forces in good order, and having placed the prisoners in the middle, they were surrounded on all sides by the pirates; some of whom could not help being affected by the deep-fetched sighs, shrieks, cries, and lamentations of so many women and children, who were under dreadful apprehensions lest Morgan should transport them into his own country for slaves. Moreover, these wretches endured excessive hunger and thirst; which extreme sufferings Morgan had designedly contrived, in order to excite them to seek for money to pay the stipulated ransom.

Many of the women on their knees, with sighs and tears, entreated captain Morgan to let them return to Panama to their families, however wretched the situation they had been reduced to. But this tyger-hearted monster was deaf to all their cries. The pirates in the rear used to thrust into their backs and sides the blunt ends of their arms, to hasten them forward.

As soon as admiral Morgan arrived at the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he published an order among the prisoners, that whoever could not bring in their ransom in three days should be transported to Jamaica. Orders were given at the same time to get all necessary provisions for his fleet. On the 9th of March he arrived at the castle of Chagre, where he found all things in good order; but most of the wounded men he had left there had died for want of proper care.

Immediately after his arrival, he sent a large boat to Puerto Bello, with all the captives he had made at the island of St Catherine's, demanding a considerable ransom for the castle of Chagre, where he then was, menacing its total destruction in case of a refusal. The inhabitants of Puerto Bello sent him for answer, that they would not give him a farthing for the ransom of

the said castle, and that he might do with it whatever he pleased.

The dividend of all the spoil taken in that voyage was made, every company and each particular person receiving their share thereof; or, more properly speaking, whatever proportion their master Morgan was pleased to assign. Most of his piratical comrades, even those of his own country, complained of unfair proceedings, and reproached him to his face for having monopolized the jewels, it being impossible that no greater share could come to each than 200 pieces of eight, out of so many rich plunders, and which small sum was far from being an equivalent to the difficulties and dangers they had run through. But Morgan, determined to cheat them of all he could, was deaf to all their remonstrances.

On finding himself grown obnoxious, and having lost all popularity amongst his followers, he began to fear the consequence if not timely prevented; wherefore he judged it dangerous to delay any longer at Chagre, and ordered the ordnance of the castle to be carried on board his ship. He then gave directions to demolish most of the walls, to set fire to the edifices, and make as general a destruction as could be done in a short time. After which havock he stole secretly on board of his own ship, without giving the least intimation thereof to his comrades of iniquity and put to sea, attended but by three or four vessels of the fleet, and manned by those whom he could have the strongest reliance on, and to whom for that purpose he had given larger shares of the spoils than to the rest, whom he took care to leave totally unprovided of all necessaries for a pursuit, in case they should think of following and being revenged on him for his injustice. Those he left behind him were in so reduced a state, that every company, whether English or French, being compelled to shift for themselves, they mostly separated from each other,



other, and having returned homeward took up another course of life, always haunted with the remorse of having been such monsters to so little profit to themselves; one merciless villain having run away with the whole.

The party of Morgan's followers to which Esquemeling belonged, steered along the shore of Costa Rica, in order to get provisions, and careen their ships in some secure place, the boat they were in being then extremely foul and quite unfit for the sea. They arrived in a few days in a spacious port called Boca del Toro, where good tortoises are in great plenty. It is about ten leagues in compass, and sheltered by a number of little islands, under whose cover vessels ride secure in the most violent storms.

The inhabitants of these islands are a kind of wild Indians called Indios Bravos, who could never be subdued by the Spaniards. The pirates necessity being extreme, they ventured ashore to seek provisions; but alas all they could find were a few crocodile eggs, with which they were forced to be content. They then steered eastward, and met three boats more of their late companions, who had been also left behind by Morgan. They told them they were almost famished, not having been able to find any provision; nay, that Morgan and his people were reduced to such straits that he could allow them each day but one poor and scanty pittance.

In consequence of this information they changed their course westward; where they met more tortoises than they needed, but wanted fresh water, of which there was abundance in the neighbouring islands; but on account of the great enmity subsisting between the Indians and those of the piratical profession, they were afraid to land. But necessity growing more pressing, they went together to one of the islands: as soon as they had landed, one party of their men ranged the  
woods,

woods, whilst another filled their casks and barrels with fresh water.

They had scarce been an hour at this work when a party of Indians came to assail them: the pirates fired immediately on them and very briskly. This drove back the Indians who fled for shelter to the woods. The pirates pursued them but a little way, being more desirous of getting fresh water for the present, than any booty from them. As they returned they found two Indians dead on the shore, one of whom was known to be a person of quality by his habit, having a sash richly woven about his body, and a beard of massy gold; which was thus contrived: a small plank of gold hung down from his lips, by two strings which run through two little holes made there on purpose. His arms were curiously made of sticks of palmito trees; at one end was a hook, which seemed to have been hardened by the fire. Having filled their vessels with water, they carried them off. They heard from the shore in the night time loud shrieks and cries, which induced the pirates to believe that the Indians in that part had called more people to their aid; or that they lamented the deaths of the two who had been slain.

The pirates bore away for Jamaica but meeting soon with contrary winds, they were obliged to use their oars, and row to the river of Chagre; which, when they approached, they observed a ship preparing to give them chase: they dreaded its being a Spanish ship sent from Carthagena to Chagre. They therefore crowded all the sail they could in order to escape. But the large vessel being swifter and cleaner than theirs, soon slopt their course, having got the wind of them very easily. Upon a nearer view they mutually discovered themselves to have been companions in the piratical expedition against Panama, and that those in the large vessel were but lately come from Chagre, their scheme being to go to Nombre de Dios, and thence to Cartha-

gena, in order to meet with some booty. But the wind proving quite contrary to their design, they all agreed to go in company to Boco del Toro, the place the small vessel had come from.

They from thence directed their course to a place called Boca del Dracone, in order to get fresh provisions, and especially of an animal called by the Spaniards Manentine, and by the Dutch, Sea Cow; because its head, nose, and teeth are very like those of a cow. Having left this place, they arrived in twenty four hours at another called Rio de Zuera, where stood a few houses belonging to Carthagera, inhabited by the Spaniards, and whom the pirates, not being able to find any tortoises, or their eggs, were resolved to visit. Of which favour the inhabitants being not at all desirous, ran from their dwelling, leaving neither victuals nor provisions of any kind, who were forced to take up with the fruit called Plantanos, of which there were great quantities there; wherewith they provided their boats in order to use them during their voyage.

They crawled along shore in hopes of finding some creek or bay wherein to careen. They at length reached a port named, *the bay of Blevelt*, so called from a pirate of that name who used to resort thither. While one party of their men undertook to careen and refit; another hunted in the woods, where they found porcupines of a monstrous bigness, and pheasants. On the ninth day after the pirates arrival there, one of their women slaves having seen a troop of Indians, gave the alarm, calling for help for her and her companions employed about their ordinary occupations.

The pirates ran presently to their arms in order to defend them; but having come to the wood, they could see no Indians there, but found two of their women-slaves killed, and stuck all over with arrows as if done designedly; one of them being sufficient to kill. All these arrows were of a particular shape, being eight feet,

feet long, and as thick as a man's thumb. There was a hook of wood at one end tied to the body of an arrow with a string; and at the other there was a case or box, like the case of a pair of tweezers, in which they found little stones or pebbles: their colour was red and very shining as if they had been long locked up, which circumstance made the pirates conclude them to have been the arrows of Indian leaders. These arrows were all fabricated without any instrument of iron; for whatever the Indians make, they first harden artificially with fire, and polish them with flints. The pirates sought up and down the woods for them, but could find no track of them; wherefore they retired to their vessels, having embarked all their goods, and directed their course towards the cape Gracias a Dios, which was their last resource to get any provisions, the Indians there living in a tolerable good understanding with the pirates: where, according to a long established custom, when any pirates arrived; each of them has liberty to purchase for himself an Indian woman at the small price of an ax, hatchet, or wood-bill. Pursuant to this compact the woman is obliged to live with the pirate as long as he remains there; she is to supply him with victuals of all sorts which can be got in the country. He hath also a privilege in consequence to go hunt or fish when he pleases, and to any other diversion, with this proviso, that he commit no depredation or hostility on the inhabitants, who of themselves furnish him with all he wants.

By means of this friendly intercourse between the Indians and pirates, the former are sometimes induced to go to sea with the latter, and remain years there; during which time many of them have learned to speak English and French, and some of the pirates the Indian language. Their being so very dexterous at their javelins rendered them of great service to the pirates in victualling their ships by the fishery of tortoises, and



Manitas, a fish so called by the Spaniards. One of these Indians is sufficient to victual a vessel carrying 100 men.

Having refreshed and provided themselves with all this island could afford, they sailed towards the island De los Pinos. They arrived there in fifteen days, and were obliged to refit and careen. While one part attended to the careening business, the other went to fish, and in six or seven hours caught fish sufficient for a thousand persons. The pirates had some Indians with them from the cape of Gracias a Dios, very dextrous in fishing and hunting. With their assistance they killed in a short time a prodigious number of wild cows. The Spaniards had formerly brought these cows into this island that they might stock and multiply there: they also salted a vast number of tortoises. Thus abounding in provisions, they dismissed their late cares, and gave a loose to joy and feasting; for the Spaniards of that island being in friendship with the pirates, there was no necessity for any guard being kept by night, except against the crocodiles, with which it swarms; they will assault a man and devour him.

After these pirates had remained there for some time; having sufficiently refreshed, and provided themselves with all necessaries, they sailed for Jamaica, where after a most prosperous voyage they arrived in a few days, and there found captain Morgan, their admiral, who had returned home before them. They were the first of his companions (whom he had left behind) that returned to Jamaica: where he was very busy in cajoling and levying people, in order to transport them to the island of St Catherine, which (as was reported) he intended to fortify, and make an asylum for pirates in general, and for those of his own country in particular.

But this new project of his was soon defeated, by the arrival of a ship of war from England, bringing orders

orders from his Britannic majesty, by which the then governor of Jamaica was called home, to account for his having favoured pirates in those parts, to the great detriment of the subjects of Spain. The said ship of war brought over a new governor to succeed in the room of him recalled, who presently ordered to be notified through all the ports, that on account of the good understanding subsisting between their Spanish and Britannic majesties, it was the special command of the king his master, that no pirates should be allowed to sail from Jamaica, nor his majesty's subjects be tolerated in any shape to commit hostilities or depredations on the Spaniards, or any other people inhabiting the neighbouring islands.

The pirates, who were abroad, being thunderstruck at such an order, which put an end to their trade, dared not to think of returning to Jamaica; therefore resolved to keep the sea, and continue in their old way. They ransacked *la villa de les Galos*, in the isle of Cuba; where, notwithstanding the king of England's orders, to the contrary; they were guilty of the most shocking cruelty. But the new governor behaved so inflexible to all their solicitations and offered presents, that, agreeable to his royal master's orders, he had several of the principal leaders taken and executed in an exemplary manner. The remaining were so terrified by these acts of justice, that fearing lest they should fall into his hands, they retired for safety to the island of Tortuga. They incorporated with the French pirates, inhabitants of that place, and continued in their service.

There being a violent war in Europe between France and Holland, and the inhabitants of the French islands in America gathered a considerable fleet in 1673, in order to make themselves masters of those islands in the West-Indies then belonging to the Dutch. There was a general invitation to all pirates and volunteers. The governor of Tortuga gave orders for the building  
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of a stout ship of war, to be called Ogeron. She was well provided with ammunition. &c. and manned with 500 Bucaniers, determined desperadoes. This ship the governor designed to command in person.

The taking of the isle of Curasao, belonging to the Dutch, being his first object, he sailed from Fortuga, but was scarce got on the west side of St John de Puerto Rico, when a storm, as sudden as violent, drove his vessel among the rocks, near the Guadanillas islands, where she was dashed to pieces. He and his crew escaped in the boats, the land of Puerto Rico being near them.

They were discovered on the shore next day by the Spanish inhabitants of the island, who (taking them to be French pirates come with a design to invade them, as had been done heretofore) alarmed the country, and when a sufficient number was assembled, they marched against, in order to fight them. But the Spaniards having drawn nearer, they found the French unable to make any defence, being destitute of arms, and begging quarter: to which prayer the Spaniards were deaf, charged furiously, and killed most of them; but moved at last by the non-resistance of the French, they ceased massacring them, and made the few survivors prisoners; whom (suspecting still some wicked designs against the island) they bound two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the woods into the open fields. They then asked them what was become of their commander. Their constant answer was, that he perished in the shipwreck, though they knew to the contrary.

Ogeron, who was unknown to the Spaniards, behaved as a mere natural amongst them, and played the fool so well in all his actions, that he was not tied like the rest of his companions, but left to run about as a subject for public amusement. The common soldiers, whom he used to make laugh, would give him now

and then their scraps of bread, and other victuals, whereas the companions of his fortune were in a starved condition.

A surgeon belonging to the pirates having done some services to the Spaniards, they unbound, and let go freely where he pleased. Ogeron communicated to this surgeon his design of escaping from the cruelty and hard usage of those enemies. Having agreed, they fled to the woods, in order to make up some sort of vehicle to transport them thence, and a hatchet was the only implement they had.

Having travelled all day long, they reached the sea-side about evening, but had not any thing to eat, nor a safe place to rest their wearied limbs in. They at last descried near the shore abundance of Corladados, a fish so called by the Spaniards, which frequently run close in with the shore in pursuit of the small fish they prey upon. Ogeron and the surgeon took as many as they thought necessary, and by nimbly rubbing two sticks together, soon made a fire with which they roasted them.

They began to cut down and prepare timber next day, in order to make some sort of a skiff, in which they might ferry over to the island of Santa Cruz, belonging to the French. While they were hard at work, they descried at a great distance a canoe, and bearing directly towards the place they were in. This appearance alarmed them, lest they should be discovered and retaken by the Spaniards. They ran into the wood, there to lie secreted, till such time as they should descry who those in the canoe were.

But finding at length that there were no more than two persons, who appeared to be fishermen, they resolved to assault and make themselves masters of the canoe, or perish in the attempt. They soon after observed one of the two (a mulatto) going with calabashes hanging at his back towards a spring in the neighbourhood,



hood, in order to fetch fresh water from thence. The other, a Spaniard, waited for his return near the canoe.

Seeing them thus divided, Ogeron and the surgeon first assaulted the Mulatto, and struck him dead with a blow of the hatchet. On hearing the noise, the Spaniard made towards the canoe, hoping to escape; but he was overtaken and murdered by the two Frenchmen; who having accomplished their design of getting the canoe, carried off the dead bodies and threw them into the sea, that no surmise might be formed about their unhappy end. They had the precaution to take in as much fresh water as the canoe could well carry, and sailed at a venture in hopes of lighting on some place of refuge. They steered along the coasts of Porto Rico that day, and got as far as Cabo Roxo; from whence they traversed directly to Hispaniola, where they were sure to meet many of their acquaintance.

The currents both of wind and water proved so favourable to their course, that they landed in a few days at a place called Samana in the said island, where a party of French was at that time. The surgeon had orders from Ogeron to levy all the men he could muster there, while he re-visited his government, where in a few days he collected a good number of men and vessels well equipped, and heartily disposed to follow him in any enterprize.

As soon as Ogeron had embarked all his people, including those the surgeon had brought to him from Samana, he harangued them so much to the purpose, that they had a total reliance on his promises. He then sailed from Tortuga to the coasts of Puerto Ricco. As soon as the fleet was come within sight of land, orders were given for using the lower sails only, that the Spaniards might not be able to judge who they were before they should reach their intended place for landing. But notwithstanding this caution, the Spaniards having

had intelligence of their coming, were prepared to give them a warm reception; and, in order to attack them at their descent, they posted several troops of horse along the coast.

Ogeron having perceived their being on the watch, ordered his vessels to draw near the shore, and fire several great guns, which compelled the cavalry to retire from their posts into the woods, where many companies of infantry, prostrated on the ground, lay concealed. The pirates having made their descent without interruption, and at their leisure, they began to enter among the trees, not suspecting the least danger. The Spaniards instantly rose up, and rushed on them in so furious a manner, that a great part of them was soon destroyed, and the rest got back to their ships with the utmost difficulty. Though Ogeron escaped, he would rather have perished in the fight, than live to be exposed to the reproaches this unsuccessful expedition must ever render him liable to. They hastened back to Tortuga, covered with confusion and stung at the disappointment. The Spaniards made bonfires, and other demonstrations of joy for this signal victory.

They made the French prisoners (having destroyed all the wounded) undergo very great hardships; and afterwards, at several times, as ships arrived from New Spain, they transported them by degrees to Europe; they were landed at Cadiz. But notwithstanding this prudent measure of the Spaniards to disperse those pirates, most of them met in a short time after in France, and resolved to embrace the first opportunity of returning to Tortuga; and therefore, according to their different conditions, affectionately assisted each other with all necessaries, till they arrived at their favourite rendezvous Tortuga.

Under the conduct of one Maintenon, a Frenchman, they fitted out a new fleet to revenge their former misfortunes.

fortunes on the Spaniards; for which intent they arrived at the island de la Trinidad, between the coasts of Paria and the isle of Tobago. They first sacked this island, and next exacted one hundred thousand pieces of eight for its ransom. They sailed from thence with a design to seize on and plunder the city of Caraccas, belonging to the Dutch, and situate over against the island of Curasao.

Vice-admiral Binkes was sent by the states-general, in the year 1676, to retake the island of Cayana, then in the possession of the French. He sailed from Holland the 16th of March with a fleet of seven men of war, one fireship, and five other small vessels. On the 4th of May following this fleet arrived at Cayana. Binkes landed 900 men, who approaching near the castle, summoned the governor to surrender at discretion; which summons being rejected, Binkes gave immediate orders to his troops to attack the castle on both sides at the same time. The attack was impetuous, and the resistance obstinate; but the French, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to surrender their arms and castle to the enemy; the governor whereof for the French, monsieur Lefi, and two clergymen, were sent into Holland. There were only fourteen men killed, and but twenty-two wounded, on the side of the Dutch.

As soon as the French king had been informed of this transaction, in order to retake the said island from the Dutch, he dispatched count D'Estrees in the month of October following. He arrived there with a well equipped squadron in December. When he had reached as far as the river Aperovaco, he met a small vessel belonging to Nantes, which had sailed a fortnight before him from Cayana. From her he received certain information of what condition the Dutch were in there; that they had 300 men in the castle, about which they had fixed strong palisadoes, and that twenty six pieces of cannon were mounted.

In consequence of this advice, D'Estrees took his measures as he continued his voyage. When he arrived in the port of the said island, he anchored at about three leagues distance from the castle, and there landed 800 men, in two several parties; one of which he put under the command of the count de Blinac, the other under that of monsieur de St Faucher.

He left monsieur Gabaret on board the fleet, with a great number of troops, which he judged unnecessary to be landed. As soon as the 800 men, divided into two parties, were debarked, the fleet weighed anchor, sailing very slowly towards the castle, while the soldiers marched by land; who suffered on account of the excessive heats, and the insupportable effluvia of the earth, mostly sulphureous there, and to that degree that no smoky or stinking oven could be more offensive.

D'Estrees sent monsieur de Lefi (who had been late governor of that island) to demand the surrendering of the castle to the obedience of the French king. No attention being paid to the summons, the French stormed the castle the next night, and at seven different sides at the same time. After a very brave opposition, the Dutch were forced to surrender, having thirty eight persons killed, and many wounded. The prisoners were all transported to old France, where they did not meet with the mildest treatment.

All things being settled at the isle of Cayana, monsieur D'Estrees departed from thence for Martinico, where he received information of Binkes' being at the island of Tobago, and his fleet at anchor in the bay. D'Estrees upon this advice, bore away for Tobago without loss of time. Binkes (as soon as D'Estrees was come near the island) sent his land forces, with a good number of mariners, on shore, to defend the artillery. The captains Ciavone, Van Dougen, and Vander Graaf, laboured very hard all that night in raising batteries, and



and filling up the palisadoes of Stert-schans, a fortress so called.

The French fleet anchored in the bay of Palmit two days after, and soon landed all their men in eighteen boats. And as soon as Binkes perceived the French upon the hills, he gave orders to set fire to all the houses in the neighbourhood of the castle, that no place of shelter might remain for the French. D'Estrees sent a drum to the Dutch on the 23<sup>d</sup> of February to demand the surrender of the fort, which was peremptorily refused. Things continued thus till the 3<sup>d</sup> of March, on which day the French fleet came with full sail and engaged the Dutch fleet. In the mean time the land forces of the French, covered by the thickness of the woods, advanced towards the castle, and stormed it very briskly; which the Dutch answered with such resolution as to make them retire after three attacks; 150 of their men being killed, and 200 wounded.

During this engagement by land the two fleets fought most desperately, till on both sides some ships were sunk and burnt, in which number was that of D'Estrees, mounting twenty seven great guns, with several small ones. This battle lasted from the dawn of day till evening, at which time D'Estrees left the bay and victory to the Dutch, who had dearly bought it, and with the loss of several ships.

D'Estrees, filled with confusion at this defeat, sailed from Tobago the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, and arrived at Brest in Old France the 21<sup>st</sup> of June. Having given a faithful account to his royal master of all that had happened, that monarch commanded him to undertake another expedition against Tobago; for which eight large ships of war, and eight small ones were ordered to be fitted out with all possible dispatch; with these D'Estrees sailed the 3<sup>d</sup> of October following from Brest, and arrived at Barbadoes the first of December.

He touched at Martinico to take in some recruits,  
and

and on the 7th of December arrived with all his fleet before Tobago. He immediately landed 500 men, under the command of monsieur de Blinac, governor of the French islands in America, when a 1000 more soon followed. They approached within 600 paces of the post called le Cort on the 9th of December, and there landed their artillery. D'Estrees went to view the castle in person on the 10th, and sent a messenger to Binkes demanding him to surrender the castle, which he undauntedly refused.

The French advanced next day towards the castle, and the Dutch kept a continued firing at them on the 12th. The French began their attack by throwing fire-balls with great impetuosity into the castle, and one ball chancing to fall in the path way, (that led to the store house where the ammunition and powder were kept) in which a great deal of powder was scattered through the carelessness of those who served it, and taking fire ran to the store house, which was instantly blown up, with vice-admiral Binkes and all his officers, save captain Van Dengen who alone escaped.

The French having perceived this disaster on the side of the Dutch, ran to take possession of the castle with 500 men. They found 300 men alive, whom they made prisoners, and sent to France. After this success D'Estrees ordered the castle to be demolished, with all other posts that appeared to him capable of serving for any defence. All the houses in the island were razed by a like sentence. This scene of ruin compleated, he sailed from Tobago on the 27th of December, and after a very favourable voyage, returned in safety to France, where he was most graciously received by his royal master.

Bocca DEL TORO was the appointed rendezvous of a new piratical fleet, which had lately taken and sacked Puerto Bello for the second time. (Morgan had

had taken it before.) This fleet consisted of the following ships :

	Tons	Guns	Men.
Captain Coxon, in a ship of	80	8	97
Captain Harris, in another of	150	25	107
Captain Bournano,	90	6	86
Captain Sawkins, —	16	1	35
Captain Sharp, — —	25	2	40
Captain Cook, — —	35	0	43
Captain Alleston, — — —	18	0	24
Captain Row, — — —	20	0	25
Captain Macket, — —	14	0	20

They set out the 23d of March, 1679, and touched at the islands called Zamblas: they reach eight leagues in length, and lie westward of the river Darien fourteen leagues. While they rode at anchor there, the Indians of those parts who came to see them, having learned their design on Tocamora, expressed their dislike of, and dissuaded them from it, laying before them the length and tediousness of the march, with the many unforeseen difficulties which must intervene in regard to provisions, on account of the road's being uninhabited and mountainous: offering at the same to guide them undisturbed within a few leagues of Panama, where they might be sure of making an advantageous voyage.

These pirates, induced by the force of the Indians' reasons, came to a resolution to desist from their intended journey to Tocamora, and to bear away for Panama. From these resolutions captain Bournano and captain Row dissented; consequently separated from the rest, who left them both at the Zamblas.

An Indian chieftain, called Andreas, conducted the pirates resolved for Panama to another island, called the Golden Island by the English: it lies somewhat to the west of the mouth of the great river of Darien.

On the 3d of April, 1680. seven sail met at this island, where the Indians informed them of a town called Santa Maria, built on the bank of a great river of the same name, which, through the gulph of San Miguel, runs into the South Sea. They told them also, that a garrison of 400 soldiers was kept in the town, and that great quantities of gold were carried to Panama from this place, gathered in its neighbouring mountains; that in case they should fail of finding a sufficient booty there, they could proceed from thence by sea to Panama, where they might be sure of success.

The pirates were so well satisfied with this advice of the Indians, that they landed 330 men on the 5th of April-1680. They left the captains Alleston and Macker, with a party of seamen, to guard the ships in their absence. Three or four cakes of bread (called by the English Dough Boys) were given to each of the men who had been landed for their provision of victuals; for drink they were to apply to the rivers.

On landing there, captain Sharp was very faint, in consequence of a late sickness, of which he was not as yet thoroughly recovered. Their several marching companies were distinguished as follows. First, Captain Bartholomew Sharp, and his company, had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons. Second, Captain Richard Sawkins' men, had a red flag striped with yellow. The third and fourth had two green flags, and were commanded by captain Peter Harris. John Coxon commanded the fifth and sixth, having some of Alleston's and Macker's men joined to his; they had two red flags. Captain Edmund Cook headed the seventh; their colours were red striped with yellow, having a hand and sword for device. They were all, or for the most part, armed with a hanger, pistol, and a fuzee.

As soon as they were landed on the coast of Darien, they began their march towards Santa Maria, the Indi-



ans serving them as guides in that strange country. They marched at first through a small skirt of a wood, then over a bay almost a league in length, and after went two leagues straight along a woody valley, where they had a very good path to march in, and discovered here and there an old plantation. They at last came to the side of a river, which was dry in most parts, and raised little huts to lodge themselves in. Here they were visited by another Indian chief, named Antonio, a man of great parts. He approved of, and encouraged their intended expedition against Santa Maria, offering to be their leader. He advised them against lying on the grass, on account of the monstrous adders with which those places are infested. He broke for them some of the stones lying in the river, whose grain shone like sparks of gold. In the time of floods these stones are precipitated from the neighbouring mountains.

In their march next day they ascended a very steep mountain, and at its foot on the other side they halted on the bank of a river, which Andreas told them was the same which flows by Santa Maria, and runs into the South Sea. They from thence prosecuted their journey till noon, and then mounted a loftier mountain than the former. Here their travelling was difficult, and they were exposed to the greatest danger if attacked; for but one man at a time could advance, the path being so narrow, and the mountain so perpendicular. They arrived on the other side of the mountain in the evening, and reposed on the bank of the same river, having marched about eighteen miles that day, according to their reckoning. A great deal of rain fell on them this and the preceeding night.

They marched next morning being the 7th of April, along the above mentioned river, crossing it almost every half mile, sometimes up to the knees, and sometimes up to the middle in a rapid stream. They came to a place about noon where were several Indian houses ve-

ry roomy and neat. Here they rested themselves for the space of one day, and chose captains Sawkins to command their forlorn; for which purpose they gave him the choice of fourscore men.

They continued their march along the banks of the same river the 9th of April, and as they went met here and there a house, whose owners stood at the doors to see the pirates pass by, and gave to each a ripe plantane, or some cazove root. They arrived that night at the three great Indian houses, and there took up their lodging, the weather being very serene and clear.

The captains Sharp, Coxoa, and Cook, embarked with about three-score men in fourteen canoes upon the river. The Indian captain Andreas made one of the company: there were two Indians in each canoe, in order to pilot them down the river; which proved more disagreeable than travelling by land; they being frequently obliged to quit their canoes, and haul them over rocks or sands; sometimes over trees that lay across, which filled up the river, and impeded the navigation; nay, sometimes over points of land. At night they built huts, wherein they reposed till morning.

They continued their journey the 11th all day long, with the same fatigue and vexation they had undergone the preceeding day. At night they were stared on by a tyger for some time, but were afraid to fire at him, lest they should alarm the Spaniards, then not far from them, as they had been informed. They continued their journey the two following days in the best manner they could, as well those on land, as those by water.

Having joined, they set out early in the morning of their last day's march, in 68 canoes, wherein 327 Englishmen and 50 Indian guides were embarked. About midnight they arrived, and landed at the distance of half a mile from the town of Santa Maria. The place where they landed was so very muddy, that they were under a necessity of laying their paddles on it, and to hold

hold themselves up by the boughs of the trees, in order to prevent their bodies from sinking. They were afterwards obliged to cut their way (for some space) thro' the woods, where they halted that night, and in the greatest silence, that the enemy then in their neighbourhood might not discover them.

April 15, at the dawn of the day, the pirates heard the discharge of a fuzee from the town, followed immediately by the beat of a drum; whereupon they took up their arms, and marched toward the town in order of battle. As soon as they had got out of the woods into an open ground, they were observed by the Spaniards, who having had previous information of their coming, dispatched all their valuable effects to Panama. The Spaniards retired to a large palisadoe fort (whereof each pale was twelve feet high) and fired very briskly on the pirates, whose van-guard ran up to the place, tore away two or three of the palisadoes, and made themselves masters of the fort immediately, their number not exceeding fifty of whom but two were wounded, and only one killed, though there were 260 men within the place. Twenty six of the Spaniards were killed, and sixteen wounded; their governor, priest, and all their other principal men had escaped.

The pirates having taken the fort, expected to find a considerable town belonging to it, but saw only a few houses made of cane; this place being a garrison designed to keep the Indians in subjection, who often rise up against the Spaniards, for whom they have a most implacable hatred. As soon as the pirates had taken the place, the Indians who had served them as guides ventured to come up to them; for the noise of the guns had thrown them into so great a consternation, that having hid themselves in a hollow, the bullets flew over their heads during the fight. Here the pirates released the eldest daughter of the king of Darien, who had been forced away from her father's house by one of

the garrison, by whom she was with child. This rape had greatly exasperated the Indians against the Spaniards.

The Indians, after the fight was over, destroyed as many more of the Spaniards as the pirates had done; and their method was, to take them into the adjoining wood, and there stab them to death with their lances: which barbarous proceeding, as soon as discovered, the pirates put a stop to, by keeping the Spaniards prisoners in the fort, and not permitting them to stir from it.

The pirates having been in possession of Santa Maria only for the space of two days, where they were greatly disappointed at their finding but very little booty, departed from thence for Panama on the 17th of April 1680, captain Coxon being chosen their commander in chief. They all embarked in thirty five canoes and a Periagua, which they had taken lying at anchor before the town. Their Spanish prisoners begged to go along with them, and not to be left exposed to the cruelty of the Indians, who would give them no quarter. But the difficulty was, to find a sufficient number of boats; for the Indians who had returned home from the pirates, by consent or stealth, carried off several canoes.

However, the Spaniards soon after found bark-logs, or old canoes, and by that means shifted so well for themselves as to be able to sail down the river with the pirates; who, before they set out, committed the fort, church and town to the flames, which was done at the request of the king of Darien, an irreconcilable enemy to the Spaniards; who with his son, Antonio, and Andreas, were resolved to go and see the ruin of Panama, and their hated foes.

On the 23d of April, 1680 being St George's day, the patron of England, the pirates came before sun-rise within view of the city of Panama, which presents a very pleasing prospect towards the sea. They saw also the ships belonging to the said city ride at anchor, about a league distant from Panama, at an island called

Perico



Perico. On that island are several store houses to receive the goods delivered out of the ships. Five large vessels, and three Barcos de la Armadilla, or little men of war, on espying the pirates, weighed anchor, and got under sail, bearing directly down upon them.

In their five canoes the pirates had but thirty six men, and those not in fighting order, having been harassed with so much rowing, and were besides so much inferior in number to the enemy. While the pirates were getting to the windward of the Spaniards, their lesser Periagua, in which were thirty-two men more of their company, came up with them; so that there were but sixty-eight on the sides of the pirates, among whom was the king of Darien, in the Periagua.

There were 86 Biscayners on board the vessel that was admiral of these three small Spanish ships of war, mostly volunteers, and under the command of Don Jacinto de Barahona, high admiral of those seas. There were 77 negroes in the second, commanded by Don Francisco de Peralta, a stout veteran, native of Andalusia in Old Spain. And on board the third were 65 Mellizos, Mulattos, or Tawny-moors, whom Don Diego de Carabaxel commanded. Their number amounted to 228. Their orders were to give no quarter to the pirates or Bucaniers.

A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Spanish admiral, with his chief pilot, and two thirds of his men were killed, and many more wounded, who at length cried for quarter, which had been often offered to them before, and they as stoutly refused. Captain Coxon boarded the admiral, taking with him captain Harris, who had been shot through both his legs. This vessel having surrendered, the pirates put all their wounded on board of her, and manned immediately two of their canoes to fly to the assistance of captain Sawkins, who had been three times beat off from on board Peralta, so strenuous a defence was made.

The canoes coming up close under Peralta's side, gave him a full volley of shot, which happening to set fire to a jar of his gun powder, blew up his men that were abaft the mast; some of them fell on the deck, others into the sea. Undismayed by this accident, the brave Peralta leapt over board, and in spite of the pirates shooting at him, got several of his men into the ship again, tho' he was much burnt in both his hands. While he was recovering the men abaft another jar of powder forwards taking fire, it blew up several men on the forecastle. During the confusion and great smoke occasioned by the explosion, captain Sawkins boarded and took the ship, which was a scene of uncommon misery, the crew being to a man killed, desperately wounded, or horribly burnt.

On board of the admiral's ship there remained but twenty-five of his men alive, though their number before battle had been eighty-six, of whom consequently sixty one perished in the engagement: of the twenty-five there were only eight able to bear arms, all the rest being desperately wounded. Their blood ran in streams along the deck, and every corner of the vessel was drenched therewith. The third Armadilla was lucky enough to make her escape, after she had been severely handled.

The pirates being masters of two of the Armadilla vessels, captain Sawkins asked the prisoners what number of men might be on board the largest of the ships then in view lying in the harbour of Perico as mentioned above, and also the number of men in each of the smaller. Peralta hearing these questions, strove to dissuade Sawkins from so desperate an attempt as he seemed to be about; asserting, that in the biggest alone there were 350 men, and that he would find all the rest proportionally well manned.

One of Peralta's men, who lay expiring on the deck, contradicted him, and assured captain Sawkins, that  
there

there was not one man on board those ships in view; that they had all been taken out of them to man the Armadilla. This declaration of a dying man gained so far credit as to induce the pirates to steer towards the island, and go on board the ships; which, conformable to the dying person's information, they found quite destitute of men. La Santissima Trinidad, the largest of these ships, was on fire; a hole having been made in her, and her fore-sail loose. But the pirates quenched the fire, and stopt the leak with all possible speed; which done, for the present emergency they converted her into an hospital-ship, and put their wounded men on board.

The pirates having examined into their own loss, found they had eighteen men killed, and twenty two wounded in the action. The three Spanish captains against whom they fought, were esteemed the bravest men in the Southern Seas.

The pirates buried captain Harris two days after this engagement. He was a thorough Englishman, native of Kent; a braver man never walked between stem and stern. His death was unfeignedly lamented by all the corps. He and another were all who died of the wounds they had received in the action; the rest recovered. As soon as the pirates were come before Panama, Don Francisco de Peralta, their prisoner, gave a satisfactory account of the state of that city, and the country adjacent to it. According to him, the city of Panama lies in the lat. of 9 degrees north. It is round, that part only excepted where it fronts the sea. The old town, which had been taken and ruined by Morgan, stood four miles more easterly.

About two or three days after our arrival at Panama, captain Coxon having some occasion to be dissatisfied, withdrew from the pirates with 70 men. In his company went also back the Indian king, captain Antonio, and Don Andreas. The king left his son and

nephew to the care of captain Sawkins, in order to encourage him (being now chosen governor in chief, in the absence of captain Sharp) to continue annoying their common enemy the Spaniards.

Captain Sharp, with his bark and company, rejoined them on Sunday the 25th of April. The pirates having continued before Panama for ten days, they weighed anchor the 2d of May, and sailed to the island of Lavoga, on which there is a town of the same name. From this island they could easily see all the vessels that sailed in or out of the port of Panama. While stationed there, they took some vessels laden with provisions, and others with more valuable cargoes.

On the 15th of May they sailed from thence to the island of Oroque. Being arrived there, they lay to, while their boat went ashore and fetched off fowls, hogs, and other things necessary for sustenance. From Oroque they sailed to the island of Cayboa, a place famous for the fishery of pearls. In their way thither they lost two barks, one having fifteen men on board, the other seven. While the pirates lay at anchor before Cayboa, captains Sharp and Sawkins, their two commanders in chief, taking along with them between 60 and 70 men, sailed in captain Cook's ship to the mouth of the river, whereon Puebla Nueva is situate, on the 22d of May, 1680.

When they came to the river's mouth, they embarked themselves in canoes, and were piloted up the river towards the town by one of their prisoners, a negro. But the inhabitants there were prepared to give them a warm reception; for at a mile's distance from the town, they had cut down large trees, and laid them across the river, in order to hinder any boats from going up. They had also raised three strong breast works on the shore before the town. Brave captain Sawkins running up to them at the head of a few men, was killed, with two more; and three were wounded in their retreat.



retreat to the canoes, which was performed in tolerable good order. Sawkins' death was so much lamented, that it occasioned another party of the men to mutiny, and turn back; as captain Coxon and his company had done before. Sixty-three resolved to return homewards, taking with them the Indian king's son, and all the other Indians, to serve them as guides over land. For the part of the journey they were to go by sea they had a ship to carry them, and more than sufficient provisions.

Some time after the departure of the mutineers, the persevering pirates sailed from the island of Cayboa, with a small breeze at five in the afternoon, June the 6th, 1680. On the third day about sun-rise they made the Quicara, at about five leagues distance from them; they are two little islands: from whence they sailed to the island of Gorgona, and there remained some time to careen; but departed from thence on Sunday the 25th of July in the afternoon, and continued their course till the 12th of August following. Then they discovered early in the morning the island of Plate, at S. W. about five leagues distance, whither they resolved to go, in order to refit their rigging, and get some goats which run wild there: flour and water being the only provisions they had left.

About six o'clock next morning they came under the aforesaid isle of Plate, and there found captain Cox with his company at anchor, whom they had been separated from for the space of a fortnight. This island is very steep on all sides, and there is no landing but on the north-east side; where, at the distance of somewhat more than a furlong from the shore, is a cross still standing, which had been erected there by the Spaniards at their first discovery of it. No trees are to be seen in this island; low shrubs, on which the goats feed, are very numerous there.

This island derives its name from the celebrated Sir Francis

Francis Drake, of whom it is reported, that it was here he made the dividends of that prodigious quantity of plate which he took in the Armada of this sea, distributing it by bowls full to each man of his company. If the Spaniards are to be believed, Sir Francis Drake took at that time twelve score tons of plate, and sixteen bowls of coined money a man, his number being forty five. They were under a necessity of heaving a great part of the treasure over board, on account of the ship's not being able to carry the whole. Therefore, as a memorial of this amazing dividend, it is called the *isle of plate* by the Spaniards, but *Drake's isle*, by the English. It is two leagues in length, and very full of deep and dangerous bays, which in those parts are called Gulches. The sea ebbs and flows here near thirteen feet perpendicular. The pirates had hazy weather most of the time they remained there, excepting that the sun would now and then happen to break out, and then shine so intensely hot as to burn the skin off the necks of several of their men, and also the skin of the lips. Having taken on board all necessaries that could be got there, they sailed from thence on Tuesday the 17th of August 1680, to go and plunder the rich town of Arica.

On the 24th of August, at about nine o'clock at night, they espied a sail, and came very near to her before she saw them; whom, as soon as perceived, she bore away from; whereupon the pirates began to chase, and were some time before they could come up with her. They hailed her in Spanish by means of an Indian prisoner, and commanded her to lower her top-sails; to which demand, her answer was, that she would soon oblige them to lower theirs. Whereupon the pirates fired several guns at her, to which she smartly replied with her harquebusses: after about half an hour's engagement, the man at the helm was killed. Terrified by this disaster, none of the rest on board would succumb to what appeared to them so dangerous a station.

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Another shot of the pirates cutting their main-top yards to pieces, and they not being able to fight any longer, called for quarter, which the pirates granted them, and took possession of their ship, in which they found thirty five men, of whom 24 were natives of Old Spain. The captain of the vessel was a person of some quality, and brother to him who had succeeded Don Jacinto de Barahona (lately killed before Panama) in the commission of the sea-admiral of the Armada. There were five or six persons of quality besides him in this vessel.

With the next morning's dawn they hoisted out their canoe, and went on board the vessel they had taken the night before, from which they brought more prisoners on board of theirs, and endeavoured to get some useful intelligence from them. About noon that day they unrigged the bark they had taken, and sunk her; then stood to sea, and made the point of St Helen that evening.

The next morning, being the 26th of August, they steered south, and having calculated their plunder, found it amounted to the value of 3276 pieces of eight, of which a fair distribution, according to the proportion of shares they were entitled to, was made amongst them. They sentenced to death a friar, chaplain to the bark they had taken. He was shot upon deck, and thrown over board before he was dead. After which execution they continued their course.

In Limbes, the next place after Panama which the Spaniards settled in, a report prevails among the people, that a priest having gone ashore with a cross in his hand, some thousands of Indians gathered round, and gazed on him with astonishment; which was still farther increased by the formidable appearance of two lions from the neighbouring woods, followed by two tigers; which sights of terror (the priest having gently laid the cross on their backs) prostrated themselves and worshipped it. Converted by so striking and wonderful

derful a testimony of the truth of the priest's doctrine, the Indians soon embraced the Christian religion.

On Friday the 22d of October, after a long and tedious course, the pirates saw land before them, which the pilot informed them was the land of Hilo. There is a brightness over the point of it every morning and evening, caused, as is supposed, by the reflection of the sun on the barren lands. The wind was but moderate, and their fresh water being almost gone, excited great murmuring among their company, who would fain land there in order to get some. They were however prevailed on to endure a few days more, rather than run the risque of being discovered by the enemy, which must totally defeat their scheme.

On the morning of the 24th land appeared, but covered with clouds. It having been resolved to send 112 men ashore, they sent about eight in the evening their launch and four canoes with 85 men to take three or four fishermen in the river called *El Rio de Juan Diaz*, near *Mora de Sama* in order to get intelligence how matters stood along the coast, and in the adjacent country. In the night-time, being within a league and half of the shore, they sounded, and found forty five fathom water, with hard ground at the bottom.

Next morning, being the 25th, their people and canoes returned, which had been sent to take the fishermen; but their report was, that they could neither find such a river, fishermen, nor any houses thereabouts.

About six o'clock in the evening, on Monday the 25th of October, the pirates left their ship, in order to go and take Arica, resolving to land about the distance of a league to windward of the town; from which they were about six leagues distant on leaving their ship, which obliged them to row all night, that they might reach the proposed place of landing before day. Towards morning the canoes left the launch, which they had



had all night in tow. They made all possible dispatch for the shore, in order to disembark before the arrival of the launch there.

When come near to the place where they had intended to land, they were in the greatest amazement on finding themselves discovered, and that the alarm of their arrival was spread all along shore, and through the country. Notwithstanding which inconvenience they would have landed, could they have found a proper place for so doing; but the sea running very high, and dashing with such impetuosity against the rocks, it was impossible for their boats to weather it: moreover, should they venture ashore, their arms must inevitably be wet, and thereby rendered unfit for action.

Several parties of horse appeared round the bay, and on the tops of the hills, posted there in order to oppose the landing of the Bucaniers, at whom they fired a gun, which the others heeded not; but hoping a fairer opportunity, returned to their ships.

The hill of Arica is very white, occasioned by the dung of the great quantity of fowls, which in its hollows build their nests. At about a mile from the shore, and to the leeward of the said hill, a small island lies, from which at half a leagues distance, six ships at anchor were perceived; four having their yards taken down from their masts, and two appearing ready to sail. According to the pilot's information, one of the two latter mounted six guns, the other four. The pirates, disappointed of their expectations at Arica, resolved to bear away from thence to the village of Hilo, in order to take in water, with other provisions there. In the night between the 27th and 28th they sent four canoes, with fifty men in them, to seize on and pillage the town of Hilo.

About break of day next morning a fair breeze sprung up, with which they lay right in with the port. At one in the afternoon they cast anchor at the distance  
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of two miles from Hilo, and perceived the English colours, which the men (after having taken the place) had hung out. Captain Sharp sent a canoe from shore, with orders that all the men who could be spared should be landed without loss of time; for that those of his party who had landed the morning before were challenged by some horsemen, who after the exchange of some volleys of shot, thought proper to retire. That thereupon the people marched directly to the town, where the Spaniards, for some time past apprehensive of such a visit, had raised a breast-work of clay, and banks of sand, thirty paces long.

In the skirmish an Indian was wounded on the side of the Spaniards, who told the Bucaniers that news had been received nine days before, from Lima, of their coming into those parts; and the day before from Arica. The conquerors found in the town a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, oil, flour, and wine, with several other sorts of provisions. They gave orders for the keeping of as good a watch as the Spaniards did on the hills, lest they should be surprized by any sudden assault, and defeated. They detached sixty of their stoutest men, on the 30th of October, to go and scour the valley belonging to the town; which was found to be very pleasant, being all over set with fig, olive, orange, lemon, and lime trees, with many other agreeable fruits.

There is a sugar-work called by the Spaniards, *Ingenio de Azucar*, four miles up the valley: therein great store of oil and melasses was found; but the owners had concealed most of the sugar in the canes. As the Bucaniers continued marching up the valley, the Spaniards moved along the hills, observing their movements; from the tops of which they frequently hurled down large stones upon them, which the others were careful to escape. The discharge of a gun was enough to make the Spaniards hide themselves.

From

From the above-mentioned sugar-house captain Cox, with one Cannis a (a Dutchman) and others, went with a flag of truce to the Spaniards, who met them very civilly; and promised to give them fourscore beeves for the ransom of the sugar work; which was agreed to, upon condition that the beeves should be delivered next day in the afternoon at the port pursuant to which captain Sharp sent twenty men down to the port in the evening, that no act of violence might be done to those who should bring down the beeves.

On the 31st of October, the captain of the Spaniards waited on captain Sharp, the commander of the Bucaniers, with a flag of truce, assuring him that sixteen beeves had been already sent down to the port, and that the rest would certainly follow in the morning. Upon which assurance Sharp ordered his men to prepare for a retreat; that nothing remained now to do but to march back to their ship and embark. Upon their return to the vessel, they were informed that no beeves had been sent down, which made them with reason suspect the enemy of foul dealing.

Captain Sharp went to the top of the before-mentioned hills next morning, being the first of November, and reproached the Spaniards with not having acquitted their promise. Their answer was, that the owner of the sugar-work being returned from Potosi, he was the properest person to treat with for its ransom. About eight o'clock next morning, a flag of truce came from the Spaniards, pleading for excuse, that the winds were so high the cattle could not have been driven, but that they should be brought down by noon. Noon came, but no beeves appeared: wherefore, having filled their water, and finished all necessary repairs, the Bucaniers were determined on revenge.

Sixty of them marched in a body up the valley and there burnt the canes, mill, and house; they also broke the coppers, coggs, and a great many jars of oil which

they found there. They brought off with them a great quantity of sugar, and returned to the port over the hills and the mountains; which (after they had ascended them) they found to be very pleasant, level and smooth.

It fell out very luckily for the pirates that they returned back that way; for otherwise their men on the sea side must have been inevitably cut to pieces by the enemy, they being at that time scattered up and down, two or three in a party. For on the hills the Bucaniers descried 300 horsemen coming from the north side in full speed against their men, who were not in the least apprehensive of any such approaching body.

Those on the hills being alarmed at the sight, threw down what sugar they had plundered, and ran to meet the enemy, in order to give their own men time to rally, and put themselves in a posture of defence. As soon as the pirates had got themselves into good order, they offered battle, which the others declined. As the Bucaniers advanced, the Spaniards retired, and rid towards the mountains, in order to surround and take the rocks from them, if possible.

This scheme being discovered, the pirates returned back, took possession of the said rocks, and of the lower town. The Spaniards took possession of the upper town (half a mile distant from the lower) and of the hills and woods thereunto adjoining, whither new reinforcements came every hour. A firing on both sides was continued all day, during which several Spaniards had been observed to ride to the watch-hill, and look out often to the sea-board with great earnestness.

This gave the Bucaniers occasion to fear the enemy's having more forces coming that way, which they appeared to have hourly expected; wherefore they resolved to embark in the dead time of the night, and depart from a coast where the enemy appeared to be too well provided for them. They carried off a large chest of sugar, whereof each man's share was seven pounds



pounds and a half; they carried off also thirty jars of oil, and great quantities of all sorts of garden herbs, roots, and most excellent fruits of every kind, which that country affords, all welcome articles on board. They sailed next morning from Hilo, being the 3d of November 1680. In a few days after, many of them were troubled with the scurvy, which proceeded, as they imagined, from the continued hardships and want of provisions, which they had endured for several months past, having had only bread and water for their sustenance. But having since got a small quantity of very good chocolate among their plunder, a dish thereof, containing almost a pint, was ordered for each man every morning.

On the 2d of December they saw a very high land early in the morning, which was Coquimbo; they made all the sail they could towards it, and reached its coast before night; the wind being very high they were forced to lower their sails from time to time; it abated in the evening, and at midnight there was a profound calm; at which time they hoisted out their launch and canoes, and having put therein one hundred men, they rowed away from the ship, resolved, if practicable, to surprise *la Ciudad de la Serena*, a considerable city not far from the coast.

As they departed from their ship in the morning of the 3d of December 1680, they had about two leagues to row to shore. But it happened, that the launch rowed so heavily, in comparison of the canoes, that it could not keep up with them, which made the others wait for her, and was the occasion of their not reaching a certain store-house, situate on the shore, before it was broad day.

As soon as landed, they marched directly from their canoes towards the before mentioned city of *la Serena*. They proceeded but a short way, when they found, to their great mortification, that they were dis-

covered here, as they had already been at Arica and Hilo.. For as thirty five of them marched together in a body, they were suddenly attacked by an hundred Spanish horse; whom, notwithstanding their superiority of number, they drove back towards the town. The Spaniards rallied soon after, and seemed as if determined to wait for, and attack the enemy anew.

As soon as the Bucaniers forces, amounting in all to eighty four, were gathered (the rest being left to take care of the boats) they marched towards the Spaniards, and offered them battle; which they instantly declined, riding away, and keeping out of gun-shot. But their retreat was a designed one, in order to draw the pursuing pirates out of the road leading directly to the town. The Spanish horse lost three of their principal men in this engagement, besides some wounded.

As soon as the Bucaniers discovered that they had been led out of the right road to the town by a stratagem of the enemy, in order to regain it, they crossed over the green fields, wading over several branches of water, which enclosed each plat of ground. In this march they came to several houses, all which they found empty, and as destitute of provisions as of inhabitants.

On their arrival, they found Serena to be a more considerable place than it had been represented to them, inasmuch as it contained seven great churches and one chapel. Four of the churches belonged to monasteries, and had organs for the performance of divine service: in short, they found more elegance and delicacy in Serena than could be expected in so remote a place. It was chiefly inhabited by tradesmen and merchants, some of whom were reputed to be very wealthy. They had all fled with their most valuable effects, at the news of the pirates approach; what they were unable to carry off they buried.

The Bucaniers took in the town one friar and two  
Chilinos,

Chilinos, or Spaniards, natives of the kingdom of Chili, which adjoins to that of Peru, towards the straits of Magellan. They were informed by these prisoners, that the Spaniards had heard of their coming, and killed most of their Chilian slaves, lest they should revolt and go over to them. They told the pirates, that the Spaniards had descried them four days before they landed, all which time they employed in carrying off their goods and plate; and that a supply of sixty men had been sent to them from Arica.

A negro, who had run away from the Spaniards, repaired to them that evening, with this information, that the negro whom they had taken when they were before Panama, was esteemed the best pilot in all the South Sea, but more especially for the coasts of Coquimbo and neighbouring shores; adding farther, that if the Spaniards had not sent to a great distance all the negroes belonging to this city, they would certainly have all revolted to them at their first appearance.

About midnight their boatswain, accompanied by forty men, having a Chilian for their guide, went from the town some miles into the country, in order to discover the places where the Spaniards had secreted themselves, and concealed their plate and other goods.

But the Spaniards having got intelligence of this scout, from secret spies they had left behind them in the town, both men and women removed to more distant places; so that nothing more valuable was found in this search than an old woman and three children. Their ship by this time was come to an anchor, near the above-mentioned store-house, named Tortuga, at a furlong's distance from shore, and in water seven fathoms deep.

A flag of truce came to town next morning from the enemy, being Saturday the 4th of December, with the proffer of a ransom for the town; for the Spaniards began to apprehend that the pirates would set fire to it, on account of their not having found a considerable

booty therein. The chief commanders on both sides having met, the sum agreed on was 95,000 pieces of eight, which the Spaniards promised should be collected and paid the next day; in which they failed, and begged a farther indulgence to eight o'clock the morning after; but in the intervening night they opened a sluice, and let the water run about the town in streams; and with an intent, either by overflowing it to force the pirates from thence, or for the readier extinguishing of the flames, in case they should set fire to the place, which was accordingly done next morning.

The pirates left Serena in one universal blaze, which promised its being entirely reduced to ashes; and carried off with them all the plunder they could find. Marching down to the bay, they beat up an ambuscade of 250 horse, which lay in wait to surprize any small parties they might have sent that way with booty.

They were soon informed of an unusual stratagem attempted by the Spaniards to burn their ships, to wit, A horse's hide being-blown up like a bladder, a man ventured to swim on that puffed-up float from shore, and get under the stern of the Bucaniers ship. Having got safe there, he crammed between the rudder and stern-post, oakum, brimstone, and other combustible matter; which having put a lighted match to, in a very short space of time the rudder was on fire, and the ship all covered with smoke.

The men on board not knowing where the smoke came from, ran up and down the ship alarmed and aghast, suspecting it to be the work of the prisoners in order to destroy the vessel, and obtain their own liberty; but discovering at length where the fire was, they were lucky enough to extinguish it before it had come to too great head. As soon as it was quenched, they sent their boat ashore, where the hide before-mentioned, and the match burning at both ends, were found; which let them into the secret.

As soon as their commander was come down from  
Serena



Serena, then in a blaze, to the store-house on the shore side, he released part of the Spanish prisoners, and the rest when he went on board, for two reasons: *First*, He did not know what to do with; or how to dispose of them. *Secondly*, He feared the repetition of the late stratagem, at some other time, when it might more effectually succeed. However, he affected, before them, not to be influenced by any such motives; and that his releasing them proceeded from the humaneness of his natural disposition.

At two in the afternoon next day, being Tuesday, the 7th of December, the Bucaniers weighed anchor, and sailed for the island of Juan Fernandez, not far distant from the coast of Coquimbo. On the 9th of the said month, it was thought convenient to come to an allowance of water, as but very little had been taken in at Coquimbo. On Friday, 24th they descied the island of Juan Fernandez. By this name are designed two islands near each other; the larger of the two is three leagues and a half in length, the lesser but one in circumference.

On the morning of the 25th they sent off, about ten o'clock, one of their canoes, in order to seek the best anchoring place for their ship. As they drew near, both the islands appeared to them as an heap of rocks; that situate to the northward is the higher, whose top they could not see, on account of its being covered with clouds. It is so steep in most places, that it becomes almost perpendicular. This being Christmas-day, three vollies of shot were fired off in honour of that great festival.

In the evening they came to an anchor at the south end of the island in a stately bay, but too much exposed to the south-east winds. They had cast anchor in water eleven fathoms deep, and only one furlong distant from the shore. Here they were amazed to see such prodigious multitudes of seals as to almost cover the bay. Before they could land, they were obliged to kill several of them.

On Sunday the 26th of December, they sent a canoe to try if a riding for their ship, sheltered from the southerly winds (which are the most constant there) could be found. Some men were also sent ashore to kill some goats, of which there is great plenty in that island; they killed and caught threescore. Those who had been sent in the canoe reported, on their return, that in another bay, situate on the northside of the island, there was very good riding, not above a quarter of a mile from shore, and water fourteen fathoms deep.

Ten of the company were sent on the 28th in the morning in two canoes to fetch water from the island; where having filled their jars, they could not return to the ship, on account of a strong wind from the south. They were in consequence forced to lie still in a water hole, and wait till the wind should cease. During its violence their ship was obliged to get under sail, and make away, not without danger of being driven ashore; wherefore she sailed out of the harbour to seek another place of anchoring.

Those in the canoes ventured out to try if they could follow the ship; but by the raging of the wind and sea were forced back again. They lay still till evening, and then ventured out a second time. But the storm was so outrageous, that, in order to save their lives, they were under a necessity of throwing the jars filled with water over-board. However, they arrived by night at the place where they expected to find their ship; but were totally disconcerted at not seeing her there.

Those dispirited poor people, not knowing well what to resolve upon, went ashore, and hauled up their canoes dry; they then advanced half a mile higher up into the island, where they kindled a fire, dried their cloaths, and reposed as well as they could that night, and the twitchings of extreme hunger would let them, they having scarce eaten any thing the day before. They went early next morning to the northward, to look

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out for their ship, which they began to fear had been lost; but were at length so happy as to descry her at sea. They then chose a conspicuous place to make a fire on, which might inform those in the ship of their being there.

In a bay near them they saw a kind of amphibious animals, which they imagined answered to the description given of the sea-lion. They were six times bigger than seals: their heads resemble that of a lion, and they have four fins like a tortoise. The hinder parts of them are like fins, but are drawn after them when on shore, being then useless. They roar like lions, and are covered with a short thick hair of a mouse colour, which is somewhat lighter in the young ones. The old ones are from eleven to twelve feet in circumference, and between twelve and fourteen long. They are more difficult to be killed than the seals are.

The canoes came to them from the ship with provisions in the afternoon, and were followed by the launch with men in her to cut wood; who told the relieved prisoners that the cable of the ship, while she was riding in the other bay, having been broke by the violence of the storm, she was obliged to leave her anchor, and get off to sea.

Dissention in their ship, still hovering about this island, was grown to such a height, about her future destination, that the mutineers prevailing, they proceeded to a new election of a commander in chief, on the 6th of January; and having deposed captain Sharp, whom (they protested) they would no longer obey, their choice fell on John Watling, who had been an old privateerer, and was reputed a very good mariner. The election over, those who were displeased at it in private, thought it expedient, for their own safety, to give their assent to it in public. Captain Sharp having laid down his command, captain Watling took it up, and signed new articles with the company. They sailed

sailed from the isle of Juan Fernandez on the 14th of the same month.

On Monday the 24th in the afternoon, their commander, Captain Watling, departed from the ship with twenty-five men, in two canoes, in order to find out and take the island of Yqueque, and get information how affairs stood at Arica. One of the canoes returned at four in the afternoon next day, bringing word, that tho' a diligent search had been made, the island could not be found; the other returned at night.

In the night between the 27th and 28th they left their ships, and put themselves on board a bark, the launch, and four canoes, resolving to surprize Arica. They rowed towards shore, under which they got by break of day on the 29th, and there hid themselves all day amongst the rocks, lest before their arrival at Arica they should be discovered by the enemy. They lay concealed five leagues to the southward of it, near Quebrada de San Vitor, from whence they rowed as soon as night was come on.

About sun-rise, on the 30th of January, they landed among some rocks, four miles to the southward of Arica. The number of their landed did not exceed 92 the rest they left in the boats for their defence, to prevent their being surprized by the enemy, that in case of a defeat, they might serve as a safe retreat. Their orders were, that if they should see a smoke from the town, or adjoining fields, they were to draw near the harbour of Arica with one canoe; but that if two fires appeared, they were to come all away, and leave in the boats no more than fifteen men.

The Bucaniers, in their march from where they had landed towards the town, ascended a very steep hill, from the summit of which they saw no appearance of an enemy; which induced them to hope that the Spaniards had no advice of their approach. But when they had got about half way to the town, they were unde-  
ceived;



ceived; for they then discovered three horsemen posted on the look-out hill, who rode off full speed to alarm the city.

Commander Watling selected forty out of the ninety-two to go and attack the fort, while the others advanced towards the town. Those dispatched against the fort had ten hand grenadoes among them, when the assault was given; with which, and other offensive arms, the castle was attacked; the besiegers exchanged several shot with those in the fort; but they, seeing their main body in danger of being overthrown by the Spaniards out-numbering them so much, quitted their attack against the fort, and ran down to the valley in all haste to succour them; whereupon the battle became very desperate.

The Bucaniers had three men killed, and two wounded, before they could gain upon the outworks: but their rage increased with their wounds; they still advanced, and at length beat the enemy out of every post, filling every street in the city with dead bodies. The enemy retreated from place to place, but were beat out of each. In those repeated defeats the pirates took a great number of prisoners; nay, so many that they were cumbersome to them; from whom they learned, that they had been descried from the island of Yqueque three days before; wherefore their arrival, in order to make a second attempt on this place, was expected every hour: that 400 men had been sent from Lima to defend the city, and had brought 700 arms for the use of the country people; that besides the 300 men in the fort, there had been 600 men in the city.

The Bucaniers being in possession of the greatest part of the city, they sent a summons to the fort to surrender; to which no attention was paid: whereupon they marched against, and attacked it a second time. It was most vigorously defended, and for a long time. The pirates finding they could not carry it, mounted on  
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the top of a house just near it, and firing from thence, killed and wounded many of their men.

While the Bucaniers were employed in this attack, the rest of the enemy's forces had retaken several posts of the town; and, in order to cut them off, began to surround them in great numbers. Startled thereat, they were obliged to desist from this their second attack, and make head against their increasing foe, by whom they were soon overpowered, and obliged to retreat to the place where their wounded and surgeons were.

Captain Watling, their new commander, the two quarter-masters, and several others being killed, and many more disabled by their wounds, the Spaniards rallied, and beat them from place to place. Surrounded with danger on all sides, and being a body without a head, they solicited the much injured but brave captain Sharp to resume the chief command, which not till after very great entreaty, he was prevailed on to accept. He pursued the best measures for their safety, having lost twenty-eight men killed and taken; besides eighteen wounded, whom they carried off with them.

The pirates began to be extremely faint for want of provision and water, not having had either all that day, and were choaked with the dust of the town, which was so much raised by the working of the guns, that there was no seeing each other. The pirates were beat out of the town, and closely pursued into the open fields; where, rather than be cut to pieces, they resolved to make a decisive stand; and if they must perish, to die bravely.

This unexpected resolution of a flying enemy to immediately rally, so scared the Spaniards, that they ran back from them into the town, and skulked behind their breast-works, whilst the Bucaniers retreated in as good order as could possibly be observed in such a situation as theirs was. The Spanish horse pursued them in their retreat, but without doing any execution.

The

The Bucaniers took to the sea-side for their greater security, which the Spaniards observing, repaired to the hills, and from thence hurled down huge stones and fragments of rocks, in hopes of crushing them to death therewith.

The Spaniards, who had the pirates surgeons, with others of their people prisoners, extorted from them the signals that were to be made to their boats; conformable to which they kindled two fires to be perceived by the canoes, which would have been productive of the greatest danger, had not the Bucaniers come between, that very instant. Otherwise the boats, already under sail in obedience to the signal, must have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and all hopes of retreat for them being put off, who must in consequence have perished, or been made prisoners to a man. About ten at night the Bucaniers put off from shore, and made their escape from that day's bloody fight. They gave up any farther attempt against Arica. The houses of this town are not above eleven feet high, and built entirely of earth, without any timber or brick. It is of a square form; at one corner of it stands a castle, which may be easily commanded with small arms, from a neighbouring hill which towers over it. Arica is the Embarcadero or port town of all the mineral towns that lie thereabouts; and all the plate that is carried to Lima, the head city of Peru, is brought to it from thence.

On the 16th of April the mutineers broke out again, and resolved to separate, which they did to the number of forty-seven, determined to return over land by the same way they had come into those seas. They took five slaves in their company, to guide and do them every other service during the journey. Those who remained in the ship fully resolved, and most faithfully promised to stick to each other to the last, which they did until the month of January, beating the sea, and touching at several places. They met some mid-

dling but no considerable prizes, which were fairly divided amongst them; But finding fortune declared against all their great projects, they dispersed, and each man disposed of himself in the best manner. Many of them returned to England.

In the month of November 1684, a company of Buccaneers, free-booters, or pirates, synonymous terms for sea robbers, sailed from Petit Gauves, on the coast of St. Domingo. During the remainder of that winter, nothing very remarkable happened to them. They took an advice-boat on the 25th of April, bound to the fleet of Peru, then at anchor at the port of Callao.

On the 27th in the evening they set out with twenty two canoes, carrying 500 men, in order to go and take La Seppa, a small town seven leagues to the windward of Panama. On the 29th, about ten o'clock in the morning, they discovered two ships bearing on them, which, on drawing nearer, they found to be two peria-guas manned with Creeks; a medley of different nations to whom the Spaniards have given this name, and who fight for them in their wars. They had brought those from the North Sea, some time before, to protect them from all attacks. But the free-booters sent immediately two of their best sailing boats to attack them, having twenty men on board each.

The Creeks landed on one of the islands that stands in the bay of Panama, where they hung out a flag of defiance against the free-booters, who with much difficulty, and being exposed to the fire of the Creeks, got at them; and after an hour's smart fighting, forced them to run for shelter to the woods, having killed five and thirty, taken their colours, and made two of them prisoners. They then marched against La Seppa, which they attacked so furiously that they took it with the loss of one man; but finding no valuable booty there, they returned to their canoes; for the Spaniards had removed from thence every rich article. On the 1st of  
May



May they rejoined their ships, which waited for them at an island called Sippila, about a league distant from the mouth of the river of La Seppa.

They sailed early on the 8th of May, and passed by Old and New Panama. — An odd kind of superstition prevails in those countries, which is, that when the free booters have several times taken the same place, the Spanish prelates, after cursing and excommunicating the same, quit it entirely, and will not bury their own dead killed there in battle; supposing them unworthy of christian burial, and the objects of God's wrath.

In January, 1686, the free booters set out a new to attack Chiriquita. On the 9th, by means of stolen marches they surprized the inhabitants there two hours before day; and their Corps de Garde, who so far from apprehending the approach of an enemy, were found at play. About two in the afternoon, perceiving a few Spaniards in a house at some distance from the town, they sent five of their number thither to make them prisoners: but on their approaching, the first seen Spaniards, placed there by way of a decoy, disappeared; and in an instant 120 more rushed from a nook where they had lain in ambush, and environed the few free-booters, who seeing no hopes of escaping, determined to sell their lives dear; therefore they stood back to back, in order to face the enemy every way, in which situation they fought them during an hour and a half, at which time some of theirs came to their assistance, in consequence of the groans they heard; for the firing they had judged to have been no more than exercising themselves in shooting at a mark.

The Spaniards, on seeing a reinforcement of the enemy come up, ran for it so fast, that there was no overtaking them. Two of the free-booters, (who without this timely help must have all perished) were killed and one disabled. The retreating Spaniards left thirty dead behind them. The free-booters burnt all the

houses in the town that day, lest their centinels might be surprized under the cover of them, or the enemy come to insult them in the night: which done, they retired into the great church, where the Spaniards dared not to attack them, but remained satisfied in saluting them from time to time, and at a great distance, with a few musket-shot. They left the place on the 10th, taking their prisoners along with them to an island in the river, preferring to wait for their ransom there, rather than on the continent, on account of their being less liable to be surprized or surrounded there. Having received the ransoms for their prisoners on the 16th, they set them at liberty, and repaired to their ships.

Being joined in April by some English free-booters, to the number of 115, it was resolved to attack Granada. Consequently on the seventh they went ashore on a flat coast to the number of 345 men, under the conduct of a very good guide, who led them a cross a wood, that they might not be discovered. They marched without intermission till the 9th. They were, notwithstanding all their precaution, discovered by some inhabitants of Granada, fishing at about the distance of fifteen leagues from it.

They made all the dispatch they could to alarm the town of the free-booters approach, who followed close at their heels, till they were compelled by so long a fatigue, and violent hunger, to halt that night in a sugar plantation about four leagues distant from Granada, and on the road thither they set out next morning, being the 20th, and as they approached near the town, observed an eminence above it, at the distance of a league, and two ships on the lake of Nicaragua carrying (as they since learned) into an island two leagues off, all the treasure of the town.

They took a prisoner in a village on their way, who informed them that the inhabitants of the town had entrenched themselves in the place of arms, and compassed  
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it with a strong wall. He farther added, that the place was guarded with fourteen pieces of cannon, and six patereroes; and lastly asserted, that they had detached six troops of horse to attack their rear, while their front would be engaged with the Spaniards. The doughty free-booters were quite undismayed by this terrifying relation, and marched to the town about two in the afternoon.

At one entrance into the suburbs they met with a strong party lying in ambush for them, through whom they cut their way; and after an hour's engagement marched over the dead bodies of the enemy into the town, having lost but one man. They made a sudden halt to wait for the report of some of their people, whom they had detached to go round and take observations of a fort, which they saw in a direct line from the street by which they entered. Anon information was brought to them of its being a square fort; that they had besides observed three more, by which the enemy could discover whatever should come against them, through the avenues leading thither, which were moreover commanded by their small cannon and small arms.

The free booters did not take up much time in debating; for judging rightly that they were too few to make different attacks at the same time, having assembled in a body, and called in all their scouting parties, by which they avoided the danger of being hemmed in by the Spanish horse, then in the rear of them, observing their motions: having animated each other, they advanced boldly towards the fortification, and were fired upon by the Spaniards as soon as come within cannon shot, who observing them to duck to the ground at each discharge, in order that the bullets might fly over them, had recourse to this stratagem, to wit, to false prime their guns, that, deceived thereby, the free-

booters rising up after the sham fire, might be exposed to and surprized by the real one.

But on their discovering this finesse, they ranged themselves along the houses, and stole up on a little ascent, from which they fired on the Spaniards so incessantly for an hour and a half, that they were obliged to quit their ground, though with some reluctance; but a shower of hand-granadoes being poured upon them, they retired with precipitation to the tower and church; which when those on the eminence had perceived, they called out to their comrades to jump over the walls, which they would second. This movement made them masters of the place of arms, and consequently of the town, from whence the Spaniards fled, having lost a great many men.

The Bucaniers had but four men killed and eight wounded. On examination, they found the fort capable of holding 6000 fighting men, and was well stored with arms. To give a better grace to their robbery, they had Te Deum sung in the great church, to thank God for successful villainy; their next care was to visit the houses, wherein they found but a few goods of no very considerable value, and some provisions. Finding there were no hopes of a ransom for the town; out of mere indignation some of the Bucaniers set fire to many of the houses.

They left Granada on the 10th, and took along with them one piece of cannon and four patereroes, which were of service to them in dispersing some ambuscades. However, they were forced that evening to leave their cannon behind them, which they nailed, the oxen that drew them being dead for want of water, and having travelled several leagues through very great heats, and through clouds of dust. The patereroes they preserved which were carried by mules, that could better bear such inconveniencies. They arrived by night in a village called Messaya, where they rested the next day to refresh



refresh their wounded men, two of whom died of the cramp, which contracted all their neryes. This is so malignant a distemper in this country, that when it seizes upon a stranger that is wounded, it proves mortal.

On the 18th, as they came out of a forest into a plain, they discovered 500 men on an eminence, waiting for their coming, and hoisted up bloody colours, to declare their intention of giving no quarter; upon which the Bucaniers hauled down their white and hung out red, and marched resolutely up to the Spaniards, thro' the midst of a very thick fire, till they came within musket shot; then their van guard pushed forward to beat them from the ground they occupied, which was executed with amazing bravery. They took fifty of the Spaniards horses, besides great part of their arms, with their dead and wounded; whom they had left behind them in their dastardly flight, after having bravadoed so much.

On the 26th the free-booters came to the sea-side, and embarked all together on the 9th of May. But on account of seeing nothing very advantageous to have accrued from there several expeditions, a consultation was held, in which was a great variety of opinions; in consequence of which, having made a division of their canoes and provisions, they divided into two parties. Those who chose to go westward, put themselves under the command of captain Grognet; and those who preferred an expedition to Panama, ranged themselves under captain Townley's command.

Captain Grognet sent his quarter-master on the 16th, praying captain Townley to put none of his prisoners ashore, lest they might give the Spaniards advice of this separation; which would make them more resolute in opposing some descent which he meditated.

Captain Townley sailed the 19th for Panama, with his ship and one bark. On the 21st of June they discovered the place where they were to go ashore in order-

der to attack Villia. They anchored there till night, and hauled down all their sails, that they might not be descried from shore. They prepared every thing for landing, which they did, and marched directly towards the town, being 160 in number, got there about an hour after sun-rise, and met with very little resistance, half of the people being at mass. They made about 300 men and women prisoners. They collected all the merchandize in the town, computed by the Spaniards to be worth a million and a half, and 15, 000 pieces of eight in good silver. Their proposal about a ransom for the town proving ineffectual, they set fire to it, and went to lie at a place at the distance of a quarter of a league, where all their booty was, under the guard of fourscore of their men.

They were alarmed several times in the night between the 24th and 25th, and not being able to carry off all, put the most valuable articles of their booty into two canoes, on board which they put nine men, the rest guarding them along shore. Six hundred Spaniards, on the other side of the river, kept the canoes in view, though they were not seen by the free-booters, on account of the bushes, thickets, and trees that grew along the banks thereof. When they had marched on about a league, they came to a place so full of these thickets and trees, that they could not pass through; and were therefore obliged to go a round about way, during which tour their canoes were suddenly surprized by a Spanish ambuscade, which discharging sixty musket-shot, killed four men and wounded one; the rest making their escape from the canoes, a dozen Indians swam to, took and brought them to the Spaniards, who cut off the head of the wounded man, not able to run from the canoe, and raised it on a high pole, that it might be seen by his companions; who when they had finished their tour, and reached to the river-side, learned what had happened from one of those who had escaped from the canoes.

On the 26th they came to the place where their men had been killed, and one of their heads put on a pole. Enraged at the sight, they cut off four of their prisoners heads, and set up on poles in the same place. They then took their dead bodies, in order to bury them by the sea side; in which design they were interrupted by three ambuscades, which they defeated, with the loss indeed of three men killed and one wounded. At last they rejoined their canoes, in which, soon after, one of their men died of his wounds.

A person was sent to the Bucaniers on the 27th, to bargain about the ransom of the prisoners; which was fixed at ten thousand peices of eight, with a menace to cut off all the prisoners heads, if the money should not be forth-coming on the 29th. Instead of which, they received for answer from the Alcaide, that he had made prisoners of all those of his own people, whom they had sent ashore, to procure wherewithal to ransom their wives. The Bucaniers, highly irritated at such proceeding, immediately cut off the heads of two of their prisoners, which they gave to the messenger, bidding him carry them to the Alcaide; and tell him, that if he should not send a more satisfactory answer, they would cut off the heads of the rest; then put the women ashore on an island, and march after in quest of himself.

This message, confirmed by the sight of the two heads, so terrified the alcaide, that the same messenger returned in the evening, with assurances, that not only the stipulated ransom would be paid, but that, over and above, they were to receive a present of ten beeves, twenty sheep, and two packs of meal, (each weighing one hundred pounds) every day they should sojourn there.

The ten thousand pieces of eight, as had been agreed upon, were brought next day in the evening; then they weighed anchor, in order to go to the place, where they were to receive 120 salted beeves. From thence they

they departed on the 4th of July, and cast anchor at the isle of Iguana, in order to see and get some water, which they were afraid to seek for on the continent, on account of its being guarded with 4000 men; but having found the water in the island to be brackish, they resolved at all events to make a descent with 200 men on Terra Firma.

The Spaniards, who were lying on the grass about an hundred paces from the sea side, rose up to oppose the landed free-booters, from advancing into the country; who, after a short but desperate engagement, made them run away. After which they filled their casks with fresh water, without loss of time, and returned on board.

They weighed anchor and sailed away on the 7th. Nothing very remarkable happened to them till about the 20th of August following, when they came to an anchor before the port of Panama, in order to learn some news. They saw two ships in the road, to which the town-canoes went frequently. The freebooters, not dreaming that these were armed against them, anchored at Tavoga on the 21st, where they descried three sail bearing just upon them, whose approach had been concealed by a point of the island.

The Spaniards began to fire, and had moreover the weather-gage. The free-booters made five tacks to get to windward of them, which they effected, by sailing between the island Tavaquilla and a rock, where there was passage but for one ship, and which the Spaniards were afraid to attempt. The fight continued till noon with equal advantage. The free-booters threw a great many granadoes into their biggest ship; one of which had so good an effect as to set fire to some powder, which burnt many of their men, and soon set the vessel in a blaze; which the free-booters perceiving, boarded her, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance the Spaniards made from her stern, whither they had all retired; but were forced at length to ask for quarter. The free-booters



booters being masters of the ship, at the same time one of the barks boarded one of the Spaniards, which they took.

The Spaniards third vessel, a galley, staid to the last, before she began to make her escape, relying on her speed in sailing; but seeing herself chased by the free-booters galley, she ran herself ashore, where she was immediately staved to pieces, and most of her crew perished. Of one hundred and twenty Spaniards, who had been on board the little frigate, four score were killed and wounded; of the seventy in the bark, there remained but eighteen unhurt; and not above a dozen swam ashore from the staved galley. All their officers were killed or wounded; among others their commander in chief received five musket shots, of which he died some time after. He was one of the bravest men in those parts, and the most to be dreaded by the free-booters.

While they were busy in repairing the rigging of the vessels they had taken, and in throwing the dead over board, they discovered two sail more coming from Panama, which bore directly upon them. They therefore questioned the prisoners if they knew any thing about them; who answered, they believed them to have succours on board; whereupon the free-booters, in order to make them believe that they (not their countrymen were taken) hoisted up Spanish colours in their own ships and prizes, with the French and English under them. This lure succeeded, and the two ships being come up close, were saluted in a manner very different from their expectations.

Finding themselves deceived, they began to fire, but with great precipitation, and made off towards the little frigate, which they still supposed to be theirs; but she soon undeceived them by throwing some hand-granadoes into one of the barks which immediately sunk her. At the same time the other was boarded, wherein were found four packs of cords, all of the same length, which were

were made ready for the tying of the free-booters. This unfriendly preparation was the occasion that no quarter was given to those of the bark in which they were found.

The captain's commission, which was found on board, being read, the purport of it appeared thus: That he was to chase the free-booters as far as St. John's Island; and that when he should board them, which was looked upon as a certainty, he was to spare none but the surgeons, (whom alone they were willing to save) and that, in order to effectuate the entire ruin of them, troops were to march along the shore, to prevent any of them escaping thither from their canoes.

The free-booters had but one man killed in this engagement, but twenty were wounded; most of whom died in consequence. Captain Townley was wounded. On the 24th in the evening they sent one of their prisoners to the president of Panama with a letter, wherein they required his giving up five free-booters who were his prisoners, and to send some drugs for the use of his own people, (as they gave out) though in truth for themselves. He sent to them that night the commander of Seppa, who spoke a little French, with an answer.

This answer not appearing satisfactory to them, they sent him a verbal message by the said officer, that if the prisoners demanded were not sent to them, they would send to the governor the heads of all the Spaniards in their possession. On the 27th in the morning a letter was brought to the free-booters from the bishop of Panama, importing principally, that the prisoners were roman catholics, and desired to remain where they were. Not at all pleased at so frivolous a pretext, they sent their final resolution to the president; which was, that if their men should not be restored to them by the 28th they would send him the heads of all the Spanish prisoners. This had the desired effect; for early in the morning

ning of the 28th, a person came on board from the president of Panama, to deliver up the five men in question, of whom four were English, and one French; who also brought them some refreshments for their wounded men, and a polite letter.

In return, the Bucaniers sent twelve of the Spaniards who were the most wounded, with the following peremptory letter:

*Had you acted in this manner, on our first application to you for the freeing of these five prisoners, you would not have been guilty of the murder of those two wretches whose heads have been sent to you. Not to be behind hand in civility, a dozen men are sent to you by way of exchange; but for the ransom of those still remaining, the sum of 20,000 pieces of eight is demanded; which demand, if not complied with, they shall be put out of condition ever to use poisoned bullets again; for which crime alone they ought to be refused any quarter.*

They however, weighed anchor about twelve o'clock the same day, which was the 28th; and in order to take in water, anchored against Tavoga. On account of the difficulty of raising the stipulated sum, the Bucaniers (in a hurry to be gone) on account of their men daily dying consented to take 10,000 which was brought to them by a knight of Malta in a bark, who therein received the prisoners from the Bucaniers, which was on the eight of November, the day captain Townley died of his wounds. They threw his body into the sea, according to his desire, and on the occasion paid his memory all honours due do it.

In the year 1687, they, for the first time, were exposed to what is called the burning of the roads, which is differently executed in the Savanas or plains, and in the woods. When the roads in the former are set on fire, the grass is almost as high as a man's head, and

as dry in a manner as powder, which being put into a flame, tho' of short duration, is mighty offensive, terrifying, and often dangerous to the traveller. When the roads lead thro' covert and woody countries, the fire is applied thereto; then according to the course of the wind, the country for several leagues appears to be over-run with a progressive fire; to which the dryness of the trees doth very much contribute, as well as the excessive heat of the sun.

In the month of April they resolved to attack the town of Queaquilla. They landed in a place full of water and shrubs, across which they were forced to cut their way with their sabres; but not knowing the country well, they had unluckily landed just over against a centinel. About half an hour after their landing, one of their men who was left behind to look after their canoes struck fire to light his pipe, though quite contrary to an express prohibition given him. The sparks being perceived by the centinel, who knowing that no Spaniard, on pain of death, would dare to strike fire by night, immediately concluded some enemy to be near; whereupon he discharged a small paterero to alarm the fort; which answered the same with a general discharge of all her cannon.

A heavy storm of rain coming on at the same time, the Bucaniers were obliged to shelter themselves till break of day; during which time the Spaniards kept a continual firing from the fort, in order to terrify whatever enemy it might be, and let them know that they were prepared to give them a warm reception.

On the 20th the free booters marched in order of battle towards the town, with drums beating and colours flying. They had not marched long before they found themselves stopt by 700 men, who attacked them from under the cover of a wall four feet and a half high encompassed with a ditch, which made them mistake it for their fort. The Spaniards made strenuous efforts



efforts to repulse the enemy, and slew several of their men, by which success they were encouraged to sally out on them sword in hand. That was their mistake; for the free booters so beleaguered them when they had quitted their cover, that they fled precipitately, breaking down the bridges to prevent their being closely pursued. But the others followed them through all intervening impediments, made themselves masters of the wall in spite of all opposition, which could not withstand the granadoes.

The Spaniards having fled to the place of arms, and intrenched themselves in a strong Caze or redoubt; which after an hour's defence they were forced to abandon; and were pursued from one fort to the other, till at length they were driven to the third, the greatest and most considerable of them all. There they made an obstinate defence, firing continually upon the Bucaniers; from whom they were concealed by the smoke of their cannon.

Wearied with a fight of almost eleven hours, and their powder being almost spent, the free booters determined a last decisive effort, therein to conquer or to perish. Their desperate attack was made with such impetuosity, that they soon made themselves masters of the last fort, but not without a sensible and uncommon loss on their side; nine of their men being killed, and twelve wounded.

They detached several parties after those who fled. They took in Queaquilla seven hundred prisoners of both sexes, among whom were the governor and his family, who with some other officers and men of quality, that were also wounded, shewed more bravery than the five thousand men who defended the place. The free-booters got there several sorts of merchandize, a great many precious stones and pearls, a very considerable quantity of silver plate, and above 70,000 pieces of eight. They sent their canoes too late

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per suit of the shallops which had carried the main treasure of the town away. They only overtook one small one that lagged behind, having on board but 22,000 pieces of eight, and a vermilion eagle gilt, which had served for a tabernacle to some church. It weighed sixty-eight pounds, and was of exceeding rare and curious workmanship. It was also remarkable for two great rocks of emeralds, wherewith the eyes of it were made.

They stipulated with the governor in the evening for a general ransom both of persons and things, which was a million of pieces of eight in gold, and four hundred sacks of corn. In order that the payment of the said ransom might be forwarded, which was to be brought from Quito, eighty leagues off, the governor desired the free-booters to release their vicar general, whom they had prisoner, because he was a man of very great authority, and credit among the people there.

The time allowed for the payment of the ransom of Queaquilla being expired on the 9th, four days more were granted to them. The free-booters began to be very much displeased at the delay of the Spaniards, when a Spanish bark arrived at the isle of Puna (whither they had retired) with an officer, who prayed them not to be impatient, for that the ransom would be paid forthwith.

The Bucaniers guessing that all these delays were contrived in order to gain time for the receiving of reinforcements, resolved, in order to strike a terror into the enemy, to make the Spanish prisoners throw dice for their lives. The heads of the four the fatal lot fell upon were presently cut off, and sent back in the same vessel with that officer to Queaquilla, by whom the town was to be informed, that if the ransom should not be paid in four days, they might expect the heads of all the prisoners.

On the 23d they sent one of their canoes to Queaquilla,

quilla, to carry one of the fathers thither; they were as much respected in those parts as the viceroys. The governor having given this man a power to act as he pleased; soon after a bark came to Puna, (which the Bucaniers had returned) with 24 sacks of meal, and gold to the value of 20,000 pieces of eight, with entreaties for three days respite for the payment of the remainder of the ransom; which was granted to them, accompanied with this dreadful menace, that in case of failure, their forts, town, and ships, should be seized upon, and set on fire.

Their canoe returned to them the 25th, with an account, that the town would pay no more than twenty two thousand pieces of eight for the remainder of the ransom; which after duly considering, that, on one hand, the Spaniards had succours coming to them; and that, on the other hand, as they intended to leave those seas, farther acts of cruelty were become unnecessary. to make them dreaded, they consented to accept of the said sum, with this reserve, to send only the meanest prisoners ashore, and detain the best sort on board for their own security. They thought it also prudent to steer towards the point of St. Helena, to be out of all manner of danger of the Spaniards surprising them, whose movements they could from thence discover on every side.

Having thus concluded, they dispatched their canoe to Queaquilla, which returned on the 25th, with assurance that the Spaniards would not fail to bring the 22,000 pieces of eight next day, which accordingly the next evening they received. On the 6th of June following they weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast in quest of a convenient place to take in water. Being at anchor on the 10th, between the capes Pastos and St. Francisco, they landed their prisoners, and gave them their liberty. On the 11th they proceeded to a division of their plunder.

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On the 25th they weighed anchor and sailed; not with any thing remarkable till the 24th of the next month, July, when about eight in the morning they discovered three sail of ships; upon which they fired a shot to call in their canoes, then taking in water from a neighbouring island. An undecisive engagement ensued.

The behaviour of the Spaniards towards the deceased free booters is very absurd. They idly think themselves revenged, when they cut into pieces, or burn the dead body of an enemy. Nay after the departure of the bucaniers, they go to the places where they have buried their dead, and dig up the unfeeling carcasses, in order to practise every species of cruelty thereon.

On the 15th of December following they arrived in the bay of Mapalla, and landed on the 18th to the number of seventy. Having marched two or three days without meeting any body, the greater part of them became tired, gave up any farther pursuit, and resolved to return, which they did. The small number of eighteen, less fatigued than the rest, were determined to proceed, who, a little after they had separated from their companions, hit upon a great road, which they followed; but had not walked therein above an hour, when they took three horsemen, who being questioned, told them, that about a quarter of a league off there was a little town called Chiloteca, wherein were 400 white men, besides Mulattos, Indians, and Negroes; and who as yet had no apprehensions of a visit from the bucaniers.

Upon which information, instead of being terrified, these eighteen men marched undauntedly to the town, which they surprized in the midst of security. They made the chiefs there, with officers, women, and other persons prisoners, to the number of fifty. The people, struck with a panic, instantly surrendered, supposing these eighteen to be but the vanguard of a larger body then approaching. Numbers ran off on horse back, who,



if they had remained to be convinced of the fewness of the enemies number, would have been more than sufficient to chastise their rashness. Being mounted on horses they found in the town, they carried off four prisoners of each sex.

The next day, being the 20th, they overtook their returning companions, at a place they had rested on their way back, and told them what had happened. They assisted them against 600 Spaniards following in the rear. They gave the women prisoners their liberty. On the 22d they all returned on board, and came to a resolution, That let the dangers be ever so great, which they were to meet in their passage over land to the North Sea, they would encounter them, and rather perish sword in hand, than starve by inches.

They made all necessary preparations for such a journey; and that they should all undergo the same hazards, their ship was run ashore. In their galley and canoes they sailed from the island they were on to the continent; where, on the 25th, being Christmas-day, they formed themselves into four companies, consisting of 70 men each; consequently their whole number amounted to 280. Their forlorn hope they settled thus: ten men were to be drawn out of each company, and relieved every morning. They set foot on the continent the first of January 1680, and on the evening of the same day were joined by a party, which they had detached before them to procure horses: they brought sixty-eight, with several prisoners, who advised them, without any violence having been used, to desist from their intention of travelling through Segovia, because the Spaniards had advice thereof.

Their situation not permitting them to hearken to this advice, they ordered their people to make ready; every man to pack up his charge, and all put their silver into bags. Those who had too much, gave part of it to those to carry who had been lightened of theirs at play.

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The conditions were, that the carrier was to carry one half, in case providence should conduct them and their baggage safe to the North-Sea. Those who had been losers at play, and were consequently poor, began to cabal and form a conspiracy against the winners, and those who were richest in their company.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, were advertised of the Bucaniers march, and failed not to give them their very unwelcome company; sometimes on their flanks, and sometimes on their rear. On the 7th their vanguard met with an ambuscade, and defeated it.

The Spaniards left no means unattempted in order to destroy them, burning all the provisions in the way they went, and setting fire to the grass to windward of them in the plains; which not only grievously incommoded, but sometimes, almost stifled them with the smoke. Nay, they were often obliged to halt until the fire had entirely spent itself, which greatly retarded their march; and this was their chief aim, that timely notice might be given of their march, and proper measures taken to defeat it. From a man they had wounded, the free-booters learned that several reinforcements were assembling to dispute their passage. They came soon after to a great borough, and were told of three hundred men who had been waiting for them there; who served them afterwards as a constant guard, entertaining them morning and evening with their trumpets, which had indeed an air of enchantment; for they heard the concert, though they could not see the musicians, who moved at some distance on each side, through places closely covered with pine-trees.

Their custom each night was to rest either on an ascent, or in the midst of the plain, according as the country permitted, that they might not be hemmed in. Their advanced guards had orders to fire their muskets

at

at the entries or avenues of woods. They proceeded through variety of difficulties; repeated ambuscades they defeated, and were obliged to cut themselves roads through places before impervious. They at length set themselves afloat on rivers, in a most perilous manner; some of their people were assassinated by others of their own company, for what treasure they had. The murderers deserted, to escape the just punishment due to such crimes. They at length gained the North Sea, and were from thence waisted to the port of Petit Gua-  
ves, from whence they had sailed almost four years before; but little enriched for all the fatigues they had undergone.

Having had such frequent occasion to speak of the Indians in the course of this work, it will not perhaps be displeasing to the reader to have a picture of them in their original state; for which purpose a choice is made of those inhabiting near cape Gracias a Dios. They are governed like a small commonwealth, having no supreme ruler; they entertain no correspondence with the neighbouring islands, and detest the Spaniards.

Although they are but a small nation, they may be divided into two sorts of people; of which the more estimable sort cultivate plantations, and till the ground; but the other is so slothful as rather to live exposed to the inclemency of the weather, than be at the trouble of building themselves houses, or even huts, however despicable. They chiefly wander about the sea shore, without any other covering for their bodies than a few palm-leaves, which they put on their heads, and turn their backs always to the wind. They have an apron tied about their middle, in order to conceal their privities. Their aprons are made of the rinds of trees, which are softened by being beat upon stones; and of such stuff their bed coverings are generally composed. Their usual arms are a kind of spear, which they make fit for use with teeth of crocodiles, or points of iron.

The

They live without any religion or divine worship. Their ordinary food consists mostly in fruits, such as bananas, racoves, cazave, potatoes, ananas; they feed also on crabs, and some few other fish, which they kill with their darts in the sea. They however contrive to make some pleasant liquors. That called Achioc is the commonest amongst them: it is made of a certain seed of a palm tree, bruised and steeped in hot water, till it be settled at bottom. This liquor strained off has a very pleasant taste, and is very nutritive. Their choicest liquor is that made of platanos, which they knead with hot water, and then put into great calabashes full of cold water for eight days, during which time it ferments as well as the best wine; and this is a high regale for their friends.

On a day of entertainment, before the arrival of the invited, the inviters comb their hair very well, and anoint their faces with oil of palm, mixed with a black tincture, which renders them hideous. The women also besmear their faces with another sort of stuff, which makes them look as red as crimson. They might not improperly be called *The Fiery faced Beauties*; and in this consist all their ornaments of dress.

The inviter takes his arms, and proceeds from his cottage three or four hundred steps, to wait for and receive the persons whom he has invited. At their approach he falls on the ground, and lies flat on his face, motionless, and seemingly dead. The duty of the invited friends is to raise up the prostrate inviter, and set him firm on his feet; then they proceed immediately to the house or hut. There the invited play over again the same serious farce, by falling prostrate on the ground, as the inviter had done before, who raises them one by one, and presenting them his hand, conducts them into his dwelling, where he desires them to be seat-

Each person is presented with a calabash of about  
four



four quarts full of Achioc, almost as thick as watergruel, which they are to drink off at any rate; then the master of the house goes about and gathers the calabashes with great ceremony. The drinking is followed by many songs, dances, and caresses to the women; the latter are so extravagant sometimes, that the men take their darts, and with the points thereof pierce and wound their genitals. This they often do when they make love to a woman, to express thereby the violence of their passions.

Their marriage ceremony is thus: The father of the girl having given his consent, calls to her for a little calabash filled with achioe, of which he drinks first; then gives the cup to the young wooer, who gives it to his sweetheart, which she drinking off, the marriage is performed. As soon as a woman is delivered of a child, she goes to the next fountain, river, or stream, and washes the new born creature therein.

When an Indian dies, his wife interrs him with all his arms, ear-jewels, aprons, &c. and during a year, comes every day to his grave with meet and drink; and on those occasions they make use of the choicest fruit and best of liquors. At the expiration of the year, the widow opens the grave, and takes out all the husband's bones, which she first scrapes, next washes very well, and lastly, dries them in the sun. Then she ties them all together, and having put them into a satchel, is obliged for another year to carry them on her back by day, and sleep upon them by night. Her last office is to hang up the satchel and bones against the post of her own door if she be mistress of a house or a hut; if not, she hangs them up at the door of her next neighbour or relations.

According to the custom of this place, the widow cannot marry a second husband till at the end of her second year's mourning. The Indian men are bound to perform no such ceremonies for their wives. Nay, if a pi